

SLINGSHOT

GAY SHAME a radical alternative

By Mattilda (Matt Bernstein Sycamore)

Gay Pride has become little more than a giant opportunity for multi-national corporations to target-market products to gay consumers. Major companies focus on Pride-oriented ad campaigns, from beer and liquor companies like Budweiser, Coors, Miller, Cuervo, Smirnoff, Skyy and Bailey's to clothing companies like Polo, Banana Republic, Reebok, and Macy's, car companies like Saab and BMW, and drug companies like Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoWellcome, and Abbott Laboratories. In San Francisco and many large U.S. cities, Gay Pride is a fenced-off event, where an endless parade of floats, from the vapid to the downright scary, marches by: gay AT&T employees, gay Genentech employees, "gay-friendly" politicians like racist Mayor Giuliani of New York or pro-gentrification Mayor Brown of San Francisco, gay stockbrokers, gay realtors, gay cops...

Many of the companies in attendance at Pride mask reactionary agendas in order to court the gay dollar: right-wing Coors and Philip Morris union-busting, Budweiser and



The Ultimate Act of Solidarity

When we publish an issue of *Slingshot*, we sit back and try to think of something exciting, action oriented and hopeful to put on the front page. Something to indicate that there are opportunities for struggle, social change and liberation — that the movement is still moving. This issue, we considered publicizing Freedom Summer in Palestine, which is modeled after freedom summer in Mississippi in 1963 during the civil rights movement. We ended up getting into a huge discussion and writing this, instead.

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Many of the companies in attendance at Pride mask reactionary agendas in order to court the gay dollar: right-wing Coors and Philip Morris, union-busting Budweiser, and the old standbys—drug companies like Bristol-Myers Squibb and GlaxoWellcome, who always choose profits over people's lives (especially people with AIDS). If the organizers of the Pride Parade offer any agenda at all (sometimes they do not—last year's San Francisco theme was "Queerific"), it is usually organized along an assimilationist axis: gay marriage and gays-in-the-military are common preoccupations. This year, though, SF Pride has gone off the deep end by adapting Budweiser's advertising motto for the official theme. "Be Yourself—Make It a Bud" has become "Be Yourself—Change the World."

Queers appalled by "Budweiser Pride" are organizing to confront the corporate beast



with Gay Shame actions at the June 30 SF Pride Parade. These actions will encourage people to celebrate queer identities in ways other than buying a bunch of crap. So many people are alienated by the consumerism and the assimilationist agenda of "pride," and we call on everyone to resist this tyranny.

Gay Pride has not always been such a spectacle of consumption; its roots lie in the famous and everyday acts of queer resistance to police brutality (Stonewall Riots, Compton Cafeteria Riots, etc). Furthermore, since the beginning of corporate-sponsored "pride," queers have resisted by various means, from physically attacking the organizers, to blocking

electd officials from marching, to breaking into the march with anti-consumerist messages. The first Gay Shame event took place in 1998 in New York, organized by a collective of queers who challenged the limiting agenda of a gay movement that refuses to address racism, misogyny, heterosexism, and classism as an intrinsic part of organizing. The free event took place at dumba, a queer household and performance space in Brooklyn, and consisted of drag, spoken word, and dance performances; speakers and tabling on issues of welfare "reform," poverty and homelessness, the crackdown on public sex and

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Ultimate Act of Solidarity

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Freedom summer in Palestine, from June 20 - August 11, seeks to bring internationals from many countries to Palestine to engage in direct action against the Israeli occupation. Internationals will live with Palestinian families in the occupied territories to witness, and hopefully limit, Israeli human rights abuses. The idea is that the Israelis will be less willing to kill or brutalize foreigners than Palestinians, and that the Israelis will be less likely to commit atrocities if they know the outside world may learn about them. (See contact information at end of article.)

While the campaign is important and being literally on the front lines will require immense courage and dedication, we felt troubled.

This kind of action follows typical patterns: The activists are folks who can afford to take the whole summer off work (or who weren't working to start with), pay for a flight half way around the world, so they can use their first-world privilege to help the underprivileged. It targets a problem that is far away, rather than addressing liberation here at home.

No doubt the idea of confronting tanks in Israel appears a lot more immediate and important than anything at home. No doubt its more sexy. Here at home, things don't seem so black and white. There appear to be few stark

International Solidarity Movement in Palestine

hunger / empathy / power

In early May 2002, after months of observing the Palestinian struggle, 24 internationals made a food run into Bethlehem's besieged Church of the Nativity,

for belongings and family, intact or not.

The internationals were there on April 2 when, seeking refuge, around 200 Palestinians ran to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

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In early May 2002, after months of observing the Palestinian struggle, 24 internationals made a food run into Bethlehem's besieged Church of the Nativity. Eleven made it inside; the rest were arrested and detained in an illegal Israeli prison in Hebron, Palestine. To protest their impending deportation, some of the activists went on a hunger strike, demanding that they be allowed to freely return instead of being barred from the state of Israel for 10 years.

One of the hunger strikers had ties to the Bay Area activist community. For many of us, advocating for somebody engaged in such a high-profile action was a new experience. Here, a friend of one of the activists considers the real power of their hunger strike.

By Andrea del Moral

Massacre, so easily mind-numbing, takes on a whole new meaning when it involves people you know. Palestinian supporters in the International Solidarity Movement witnessed the massacre and carnage that the Palestinian people experience daily.

These internationals were there when young Israeli soldiers rolled through Jenin, showering everyone with a wall of lead and blood. They saw the desperate rummaging through rubble

for belongings and family, intact or not.

The internationals were there on April 2 when, seeking refuge, around 200 Palestinians ran to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and they were there to watch the Palestinians slowly starve and suffer as their food and water dwindled and expired.

One month later, 24 internationals made a food run into the church, using their unjust, but



real, higher status of foreign citizenship to protect the trapped Palestinians. It was their second attempt, and it succeeded: eleven internationals made it inside. The rest were arrested and detained in an illegal Israeli prison in Hebron, Palestine.

The imprisoned internationals broke no law. They were delivering humanitarian relief. Furthermore, their captors had no legal jurisdiction over Bethlehem, nor anywhere else in the West Bank. It was illegal for the Israeli army to arrest internationals, it was illegal for them to fire on the Church of the Nativity, it was illegal for them to be armed, murdering, occupying. It has been illegal since they first set foot in the West Bank. This is the reason internationals are in Palestine.

And this is why a number of the prisoners refused to be deported. Having broken no laws, nor charged with any crime, they wanted free return to Palestine. They wanted to continue the work that not enough people are doing, support of a people under attack by the one of the most powerful military and political forces in the world. But they cannot simply say "please". The Israeli government and US embassy will not listen to them; they are prisoners.

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direct action against the Israeli occupation. Internationals will live with Palestinian families in the occupied territories to witness, and hopefully limit, Israeli human rights abuses. The idea is that the Israelis will be less willing to kill or brutalize foreigners than Palestinians, and that the Israelis will be less likely to commit atrocities if they know the outside world may learn about them. (See contact information at end of article.)

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No doubt the idea of confronting tanks in Israel appears a lot more immediate and important than anything at home. No doubt it's more sexy. Here at home, things don't seem so black and white. There appear to be few stark opportunities to put your body on the line, stand up to power, and feel like you really accomplished something.

But step back a bit: It's quite clear that if the US government demanded that Israel end the occupation, they would have to comply. The US government funds Israel, and Israel knows it. And this relationship of the US to the rest of the world isn't limited to Israel — in area after area, the most important way to help folks around the world (and the environment) would be to *confront and destabilize the United States*. The ultimate act of international solidarity is not going abroad, but stopping the problem where it starts, here at home. No one is as well positioned to do this as people in the United States. Are we waiting for activists from the rest of the world to come and help us? If the US was destabilized, you wouldn't have to travel far away to live your daily life for liberation.

And more importantly, rather than activism always being directed outwards *only* towards someone else's liberation far away, we could

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SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is a quarterly, independent, radical newspaper, published in the East Bay and putting the "z" in Berkeley since 1988.

Slingshot is usually a roller coaster ride of emotion, in both the good and bad sense. This issue was too, but mostly on the good side. We had several fascinating discussions about political and philosophical issues (accompanied by jews harp twangs at appropriate moments to emphasize points), as well as on the relative merits of chocolate and whether or not orange juice is drinkable after several days outside a fridge.

So far [knock on wood] we haven't had any major problems on this issue, no computer failures, no lack of snacks and no unsolvable disputes. I hope it shows in the content.

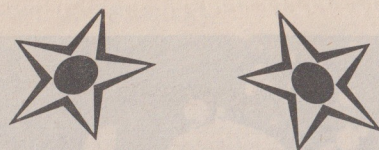
We wanted to publish something about the upcoming war in Iraq — something smart, radical, beyond the usual progressive party-line — but what is there really to say? Its clear the US government is gearing up and that Bush is just waiting for the right moment and excuse to invade. While the conflict in Israel is tying his hands temporarily, we figure they'll be at war before too long. Time to get together with your friends *now* and plan brilliant, visionary, surrealistic actions to simultaneously shut down business as usual and blow everyone's minds.

We are always looking for photographers, writers, artists, editors and distributors to help make Slingshot better. Slingshot accepts unsolicited articles and letters, on email if possible.

Decisions about Slingshot are made by the collective as a whole and do not necessarily reflect each individual's opinion. We welcome debate, discussion and criticism.

Slingshot Volunteer Meeting

Folks interested in getting involved with Slingshot can get to know us at the new volunteer meeting on September 8th at 4 p.m.



Letters to Slingshot

Down with Conformist, Flag-Waving Lemmings

Greetings:

Thanks for the latest Slingshot. We desperately need this kind of info out here in the cornfields of the midwest. Nothing like what you describe is happening around here I can tell you. Particularly in the wake of 9-11 you never beheld such a bunch of anal, pathetic, mindless, conformist flag waving lemmings. Best wishes for the revolution, --Zack

Endless Fire

Everyone @ Slingshot

Thanks so much for what you're doing. You have no idea what hope you bring to a 17-year-old anarchist living in a small town who often feels completely alone and is constantly encouraged NOT to share his ideas. You have made an impact on my life, and *that's* what will change the world. Thank you all. Love hope and endless fire,

--Chris P, Washington State

ACT-UP SF Slams Slingshot

Censorship at FCI Elkton

Greetings fellow person,

I'm writing you to request your help in the fight against the censorship in this prison (FCI Elkton, OH). On January 18th a staff member removed numerous periodicals from the leisure library (the Advocate, A&U, Burn, Coalition for Prisoners' Rights Newsletter, FARM Gram Newsletter, Fearless Mountain, Forest Sangha Newsletter, Freedom, Gym, Modern Heroes, Out, the People, Snow Lion, Tibet News, Tibet Press Watch and Tibetan Bulletin). I work as a librarian in here so I can testify that all these were donated by the inmates, already came through the censors in the mail room, were all reasonably up to date, and were requested frequently. I have already started the remedy process, but so far the only action was the staff removing all the donated periodicals from the library leaving only 14 for a prison of more than 2,000 persons.

Now you would probably agree that removing all the magazines was just a cheap way to hide the censorship rather than resolving it. Sort of like removing every 2nd when you want to be rid of every 8th.

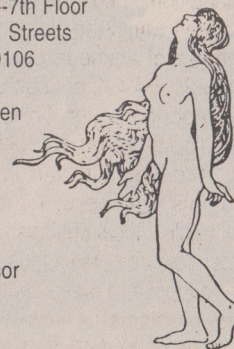
Please assist me in any way you can, but I specifically ask for letters to be written to the following persons with the demand to end the censorship.

David M. Rardin, Director
Northeast Regional Office
US Custom House --7th Floor
Second & Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19106

RL Morrison, Warden
FCI Elkton
PO Box 89
Elkton, OH 44415

Philip Geistfeld,
Education Supervisor
FCI Elkton
PO Box 89
Elkton, OH 44415

Thank you, and for more information contact me, Volodya V. Mozhenkov
06429-046 DB



Organizer Update

We've already started work on the 2003 Slingshot Organizer which will be out around October 15. If you know of an Infoshop, community space or radical contact that should be listed in the radical contact list, please let us know by August 1. Only contacts that have a *physical location* or a phone number will be listed — no internet only entries. We usually want both an address and a phone number to list a contact. Please let us know any corrections you have to the 2002 version.

If you have historical dates we should include, please send 'em to us by June 30. Keep in mind that we now have so many that only a fraction of the historical dates for any particular day get used in any particular edition of the Organizer. We don't publish death dates unless the death was interesting in some way. We like birthdays and especially dates for uprisings, protests, rebellions, strikes, etc.

2002 Organizer Round-up

The 2002 Organizer was the first edition to reach all continents on earth other than Antarctica. We received orders from Australia, Asia, Africa, South America, Europe and North America. As we now have a large distribution in Canada, we're looking for Canadian contacts and relevant Canadian info.

The biggest controversy about the 2002 Organizer was our inclusion of ACT-UP San

upcoming war in Iraq — something that, radical, beyond the usual progressive party-line — but what is there really to say? Its clear the US government is gearing up and that Bush is just waiting for the right moment and excuse to invade. While the conflict in Israel is tying his hands temporarily, we figure they'll be at war before too long. Time to get together with your friends *now* and plan brilliant, visionary, surrealistic actions to simultaneously shut down business as usual and blow everyone's minds.

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Article deadline and Next issue date

Submit your articles for issue 76 by October 18th, 2002. We expect the issue out in early November.

Volume 1, Number 75 Circulation 12,000

Printed May 30, 2002

Slingshot newspaper

Sponsored by Long Haul

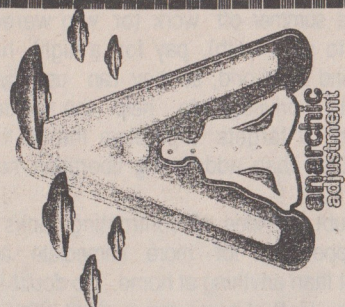
3124 Shattuck Ave Berkeley Ca 94705

Phone: (510) 540-0751

slingshot@tao.ca

<http://www.tao.ca/~slingshot>

Congratulations to former Slingshot member Peapod who starts medical school in June!



SLINGSHOT

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--Zack

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Thanks so much for what you're doing. You have no idea what hope you bring to a 17-year-old anarchist living in a small town who often feels completely alone and is constantly encouraged NOT to share his ideas. You have made an impact on my life, and *that's* what will change the world. Thank you all. Love hope and endless fire,

--Chris P, Washington State

ACT-UP SF Slams Slingshot

In Slingshot #74 we printed a letter deriding ACT-UP SF for their stance on HIV-AIDS. Boy, did we step in it! Slingshot was flooded with email and letters critical of us for printing the letter and our response to it; way too many to print in our little paper. We are going to print excerpts from some of the correspondences we received, for the full text please go to our web site. Also please note our policy on listing groups in *the organizer* in the organizer update on this page.



To Slingshot

I don't agree with everything that ACTUP-SF stands for and think that they have some of their facts wrong, but people have a right to know that they exist. You're not doing the people who buy the organizer a favor by censoring ACTUP-SF.

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Thank you, and for more information contact me,
Volodya V. Mozhenkov
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FCI Elkton
PO Box 10
Lisbon, OH 44432-0010



Dear Folks at slingshot.

I was just informed that you have decided to remove ACTUP SF from your listing of radical community groups on the whim that someone has decided that because they don't like them the easiest way to get rid of them is by slander. It is a common practice in radical left/ anti-authoritarian circles that if someone or their ideas are disliked we can purge them by using slanderous language. We've all heard it done before... "He's a misogynist"... "she's really classist"... "They're racist"... "Homophobes"...etc. Even when there is no supportive evidence proving their heinous guilt we all jump on the shunning band wagon because the language appeals to our lefty sensibility of defending the oppressed victims. This is self

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The biggest controversy about the 2002 Organizer was our inclusion of ACT-UP San Francisco in the contact list. They were included in the 2000 version, were dropped in the 2001 version, and were added back in to the 2002 version at their request.

ACT-UP SF questions the mainstream Western medical understanding of the causes and appropriate treatments for AIDS. We got a ton of letters, calls and emails criticizing us for including ACT-UP SF in the 2002 version, including a large Infoshop on the East Coast which almost returned 300 Organizers over the issue, before they decided to go through each copy with a magic marker to cross out ACT-UP SF. In response, in the last issue of Slingshot Newspaper, we ran one of the critical letters with a notation that we would not include ACT-UP SF in the 2003 version.

In response to that note, we have received a huge number of critical emails and letters from supporters of ACT-UP SF.

At this point, our tentative feeling is that its our job to publish an Organizer with a wide range of radical contacts. We may not agree with each contact listed — its up to our readers to decide. We want to avoid having a "Slingshot party line" about who gets included. Passions on both sides of the ACT-UP SF debate are strong, and both sides are convinced that if people either do mainstream

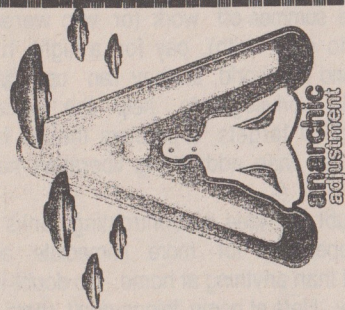
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Circulation Information

Slingshot is free in the Bay Area and is available at Long Haul and Bound Together Books (1369 Haight Street in SF), plus tons of other places. Contact us if you want to distribute Slingshot for free in the Bay Area.

Subscriptions to Slingshot are \$1 per issue (bulk mail pre paid) or \$2 for First Class Mail after the issue comes out. International is \$2.50 per issue. Back issues are also available.

Bulk copies are available for 50 cents per issue for 6 or more copies, \$1 international.

If you are a subscriber and your mailing label reads "last issue: 75" this is your last issue. Send \$ or a card or you'll be removed from the list. Prisoners get a year free, renewed each year if you write us to say you're still locked up. Financial hardship subscription extensions for non-prisoners will be considered--send us a card or something. We exchange with other publications and political groups on request. Please let us know if you move.

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To Slingshot

I don't agree with everything that ACTUP-SF stands for and think that they have some of their facts wrong, but people have a right to know that they exist. You're not doing the people who buy the organizer a favor by censoring ACTUP-SF. Shouldn't your readers be intelligent enough to make up their own minds on the matter? Rupert Murdoch would be proud of your decision. It should at least be clear that ACT-UP is sincere. They have a number of HIV positive people in their group -- These people aren't suicidal; they think that AIDS drugs aren't the answer and their survival rates would indicate that they might be on to something.

I think it reflects negatively on Slingshot that when you approach a complex and controversial issue like AIDS treatment/prevention, you ask "what is the acknowledged politically correct position on this?" rather than "What's actually going on here? Perhaps I should try to find out for myself instead listening to PR flacks and other establishment lackeys." What if Greenpeace thought that biotechnology and genetic engineering was the solution to world hunger? Would you go along with that too? So much for independent thinking, eh? Who needs it anyway when the "left" (whatever that is) already has a pre-packaged opinion for you to pick up off the shelf and take home. Let's hope for better judgment in the future. Ian R.



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A better way for the radical left to deal with the AIDS debate instead of slandering it would be to simply acknowledge that the debate exists and that people be encouraged to learn as much as possible about both sides of the debate before deciding where they stand. I'm sure there are people of many political persuasions who are challenging the HIV=AIDS=death paradigm, just

like there are people from every political persuasion who believe that HIV does cause AIDS. The AIDS debate is not a left or right issue it's a scientific debate and a public health issue, and it's the general public who will ultimately decide the outcome. Robert S.

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Ordering Information

Prices for the 2003 Organizer will be the same as for 2002: \$5 for one copy, \$16 for 4 copies and \$30 for 8 copies (postage included) ordered direct from *Slingshot*. Please don't send orders until October. Infoshops, bookstores and distributors should contact us for wholesale rates for orders of 20 or more copies. We still have copies of the 2002 edition (\$4 each includes postage or seconds (slightly damaged) for \$3 each.) Send checks, money orders or well concealed cash to:

Slingshot Collective • 3124 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 • 510 540-0751 ex. 3
www.tao.ca/~slingshot • slingshot@tao.ca

TRASHED And TOXIC

West Oakland Community Fights Back

By Astrogirl

The gorging gut of capitalism necessitates excessive production and consumption as well as devastating unsustainable environmental damage. Industry proliferates, millions are spent to convince a gullible public to consume, and the profits line the bulging pockets of the rich. Many Industries — oil, automobiles biotechnology — are detrimental to the environment while providing scant comfort or enjoyment for the humans they supposedly serve.

Collectively, industry and the acceptance of an industrialized society have created a standard of living that is destroying the planet. Destroying it quietly for those who reap the benefits of this unsustainable lifestyle and destroying it glaringly for those who do not.

Zip code 94607, West Oakland, is the ultimate example of a local community that does not benefit from the luxuries afforded by industry, but suffers from its waste products. It's the ultimate example of environmental racism.

The oldest district in Oakland, West Oakland is home to 23,475 residents. It began as a vibrant and diverse working class community based around what served as the final stop on the TransContinental Railroad. By the mid-1900's the population consisted of mostly African American residents and West Oakland became known as a center of black cultural and social activism — it was called the Harlem of the West.

After World War II and the subsequent economy boom, the government implemented "Federal Renewal Projects" for West Oakland. This meant freeways and additional industry that was to be the beginning of a physical

fragmentation of the community that would continue to the present day.

By the 1980's, residents of West Oakland had to live with numerous toxic brown-fields, high lead concentrations, illegal dumping and massive industrial activity. Their home contained the Port of Oakland and the Oakland Army Base, with massive railway yards, freeways and constant truck traffic to serve the port and base. Neighborhoods were broken up by freeways and factories, with housing contaminated by lead built right next to industrial facilities. The neighborhood had a higher rate of exposure to toxic materials than in the almost any other community in Alameda County.

There are many negative environmental crises currently afflicting the area. Between January and June of 2000, the City of Oakland removed 263 tons of illegally dumped garbage from the streets. This was three times more per capita for West Oakland residents than for residents in the rest of Oakland. Nearly 82% of area residents live near an industrial area. In 1998 West Oakland generated six times more toxic chemicals than the rest of Oakland combined. There are higher incidences of asthma within the zip code area 94607 than in the rest of Alameda County. (See graph).

In 1998, 34,103 pounds of toxic air releases were reported by the Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) (See graph) Keep in mind that TRIs only account for half of the toxins and pollutants discussed. Point sources such as automobiles, local business (Laundromats), and residences are not included in these numbers.

In response to these and other economic and social problems (a lack of civic engagement, the lack of sufficient public transportation, etc.) the community formed a partnership to

Continued on page 15

Summer 2002 • Slingshot • Page 3

BEWARE!
NOSY NEIGHBORS

By PiratePrentice

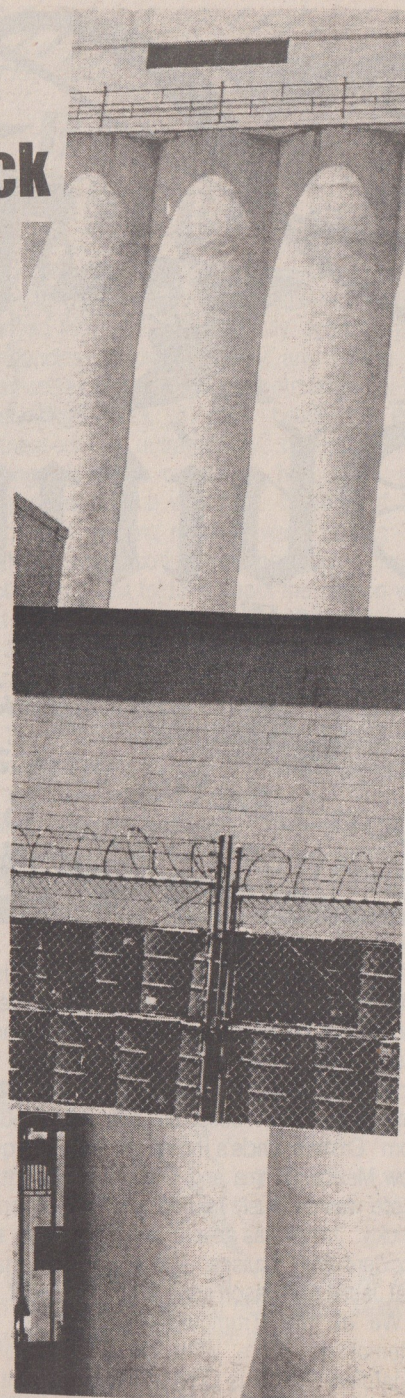
Attorney General John Ashcroft and television sleazeball Ed MacMahon, renowned for his Publisher's Clearinghouse and Budweiser beer advertisements, announced in a news conference March 6 that the middle-class Neighborhood Watch organization would no longer be monitoring suspected car thieves and burglars. Instead they will be focusing on "Domestic Terrorists", (e.g. us). During this press conference, they also released a 24 page "Citizen Preparedness Guide" which offers guidelines to snooping and informing on your neighbors.

My first thought was that this new Neighborhood Watch could be used for some excellent monkey-wrenching. I could report that police car that is constantly patrolling my neighborhood to the Neighborhood Watch.

But seriously, this shit is scary. Like a modern witch hunt, we will soon be one telephone call away from being shoved into camps like the hundreds of other suspected terrorists the federal government is currently holding in detention throughout this country.

To make matters worse, the government announced it will be initiating Operation TIPS this summer. Operation TIPS trains delivery men, taxi drivers, mailmen, and other public service employees to snitch on the public they serve.

The FBI, CIA, INS, ATF, and the Secret Service all already have toll-free numbers used to report any suspicious activities. Now, not only do we have to be afraid of being investigated by this alphabet soup of government agencies, we have to watch out for our mailmen, garbage collectors, and next door neighbors as well. Welcome to the Land of the Free.



By the mid-1960's the population consisted of mostly African American residents and West Oakland became known as a center of black cultural and social activism — it was called the Harlem of the West.

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Continued on page 15

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another world is possible...

But What Kind, and Shaped by Whom?

by Cindy Milstein

During the World Economic Forum (WEF) meeting and related demonstrations in New York from Jan. 31 to Feb. 4, the Village Voice put its finger to the shifting political winds. That week's cover headline read, "Passing the Torch: Anarchists Pick Up Where Progressives Left Off," and the corresponding image depicted a middle-aged white male running in a business suit while handing off a Molotov cocktail to the young white male in "anarchistic" attire sprinting along behind him. While this front page could be critiqued for its damaging stereotype "that all anarchists are youthful, violent Caucasian guys" the article inside sympathetically acknowledged that "the anarchist fringe is fast becoming the movement's center." Anarchists are indeed outstripping progressives because they offer a form of contestation and transformation that speaks to the times — a form in explicit opposition to the world's powerful elites, but one that also acts as a thorn in the side of many social justice activists.



settled, the ability to (re)shape the world is being both openly and surreptitiously fought over by nation-states as well as transnational corporations, nonprofit organizations as well as the millions ravaged by the globalizing process, and many others. Some potential worlds could, of course, be more dystopian than today's — say, those asserted to be the divine word of a god or prophet by fundamentalists of all creeds. Yet even the more humane visions, like that of the WSF's, beg the questions, Whose world will it ultimately be? Who will make social, economic,

globalization. It is certainly not alone in its quest to "further economic growth and social progress" for a limited few — social progress being measured by economic growth. Institutions from the World Bank to the European Union to the U.S. government share the same pursuit. What sets the WEF apart is its innovative means, potentially making it all the more dangerous. To borrow its own language, the WEF's membership meets in "a unique club atmosphere," always luxurious, "to shape the global agenda," "to mold solutions," with the aim of controlling sociopolitical-economic processes to its own advantage.

Such maneuverings have been militantly challenged at the WEF's past couple annual meetings in Davos, Switzerland. Part of the alleged reason the WEF ventured from its secluded retreat for the first time was to avoid this mounting resistance. The social costs, especially for the Swiss authorities, had gotten too high. WEF leaders also likely hoped to discredit such opposition altogether by meeting in New York City so soon after Sept. 11. They could claim to be both mourning the dead and doing their bit to rebuild NYC by

interference from "anti-globalist marginals," to cite one WEF member.

To extend these speculations further, though, the best reason for trooping to Manhattan was to highlight the growing global influence of this relatively small, young organization. As 9-11 and the subsequent anthrax scare revealed, fixed and visible centers of power can be targeted and attacked. The physical homes of those institutions that have played such a large role in determining the postwar world economy (like the New York Stock Exchange) and geopolitics (like D.C.'s Capitol building) are at risk of being shutdown. The U.S. government, complacent with overconfidence in its own preeminence, still has the might to lash out violently at home and abroad, yet like all bloated empires, it tries to preserve its authority in the same tired ways, even as its leaner adversaries dream up new strategies to assume the mantle of global power broker. It could thus be argued that the WEF came to NYC precisely because Sept. 11 exposed America-the-superpower's vulnerability, thereby allowing the WEF to flaunt itself as

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This is especially apparent when comparing the WEF to its critics: the simultaneous gathering in Porto Alegre, Brazil of the World Social Forum (WSF) and the anti-capitalist convergence on NYC's streets.

The WSF maintains in its slogan that "another world is possible." It is in fact not only possible but certainly probable, given that the process known as globalization, among numerous other remappings, is fundamentally reconfiguring power relations. And far from



settled, the ability to (re)shape the world is being both openly and surreptitiously fought over by nation-states as well as transnational corporations, nonprofit organizations as well as the millions ravaged by the globalizing process, and many others. Some potential worlds could, of course, be more dystopian than today's — say, those asserted to be the divine word of a god or prophet by fundamentalists of all creeds. Yet even the more humane visions, like that of the WSF's, beg the questions, Whose world will it ultimately be? Who will make social, economic, political, and cultural decisions, and how? While there are multiple answers, they all emanate from one of two distinct poles of governance: centralist vs. decentralist, or to put it more starkly, authoritarian vs. anti-authoritarian.

Of all the new authoritarian models, the WEF's can be said to be the most avant-garde. The WEF is ahead of its day in forging an organizational culture and structure capable of stylish world dominance in the age of

globalization. It is certainly not alone in its quest to "further economic growth and social progress" for a limited few — social progress being measured by economic growth. Institutions from the World Bank to the European Union to the U.S. government share the same pursuit. What sets the WEF apart is its innovative means, potentially making it all the more dangerous. To borrow its own language, the WEF's membership meets in "a unique club atmosphere," always luxurious, "to shape the global agenda," "to mold solutions," with the aim of controlling sociopolitical-economic processes to its own advantage.

Such maneuverings have been militantly challenged at the WEF's past couple annual meetings in Davos, Switzerland. Part of the alleged reason the WEF ventured from its secluded retreat for the first time was to avoid this mounting resistance. The social costs, especially for the Swiss authorities, had gotten too high. WEF leaders also likely hoped to discredit such opposition altogether by meeting in New York City so soon after Sept. 11. They could claim to be both mourning the dead and doing their bit to rebuild NYC by convening at the opulent Waldorf-Astoria hotel. In contrast, so the WEF probably assumed, the protesters would be seen as funeral crashers, dishonoring the dead by running wildly through the streets of a still-grieving city without regard for property or propriety. Resistance would be irrevocably tainted, thereby allowing institutions like the WEF to go about the lofty mission of governing capitalist society without any pesky

interference from "anti-globalist marginals," to cite one WEF member.

To extend these speculations further, though, the best reason for trooping to Manhattan was to highlight the growing global influence of this relatively small, young organization. As 9-11 and the subsequent anthrax scare revealed, fixed and visible centers of power can be targeted and attacked. The physical homes of those institutions that have played such a large role in determining the postwar world economy (like the New York Stock Exchange) and geopolitics (like D.C.'s Capitol building) are at risk of being shutdown. The U.S. government, complacent with overconfidence in its own preeminence, still has the might to lash out violently at home and abroad, yet like all bloated empires, it tries to preserve its authority in the same tired ways, even as its leaner adversaries dream up new strategies to assume the mantle of global power broker. It could thus be argued that the WEF came to NYC precisely because Sept. 11 exposed America-the-superpower's vulnerability, thereby allowing the WEF to flaunt itself as heir to institutions like Wall Street and nation-states. Or at least hold itself up as a potentially more resilient form of domination "flexible, savvy, and placeless."

The WEF boasts of being a trendsetter, and indeed it is. Started as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) in 1971, it brings together the best and brightest of the global power elites: 1,000 business leaders, 250

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Obituaries

Oona Sofia Wieske 1980-2002
Emma Alyse Berger 1980-2002

Beth O'Brian
1979-2002

**Beth aka Horehound, aka Dumpster
Leg falls to her death from tree-sit at
Eagle Creek, Oregon**

*"It could have been me but instead it was you
So I'll keep doing the work you were doing as if
I were two" — Holly Near*

By T. Wingnut

Our friend Beth O'Brien was killed at the

By The Trumbullplex Anarchist Collective

On February 12, Oona and Emma, activists with Detroit's anarchist Trumbullplex project, and their Trumbullplex housemates/friends, Jason and Jesse, were returning from an incredible journey to Hawaii, when a terrible automobile crash occurred only 10 minutes from Emma's uncle's house in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Emma and Oona died instantly. Jesse was seriously injured and is recovering quickly. Jason was able to walk away from the accident with bruises. We are so fortunate that Jesse and Jason survived the accident.

We at the Trumbullplex would like to attempt to share with you a few words regarding what it is Oona and Emma meant to us. Inside a poverty stricken Detroit, we call the Trumbullplex our home, three collectively owned houses and a community "theater"

She was a traveler like a pirate, an organizer like a true anarchist/feminist, and an artist without any apologies.

Oona was a gardener, a cook, a geologist, a linguist, a prankster, an organizer, a Detroit, an anarchist, an explorer, an adventurer, a pirate, a lover, and like Emma, our friend and so much more.

Oona's and Emma's personalities are indescribable, but we can definitely say they were incredibly passionate people. They both shared so many desires and dreams, inspiring all of us with their determination to make them come true. What they offered to our struggles here is irreplaceable.

We miss Oona and Emma so much, however, we recognize how incredibly grateful and privileged we are to have had their love and friendship. With their families and friends, we have had the most amazing memorials and parties to celebrate their lives. We should all aspire to live such inspiring and fulfilling lives

INFOSHOP UPDATE!!!!

Here's information on a bunch of new Infoshops and community spaces that have opened within the past few months. Within the last year, we've seen the largest number of new spaces opened since the early mid-1990s. Good luck to everyone opening a space! Please let us know so we can list any future openings here and in our Organizer.

Center for Creative Autonomy opens in Houston

CCA is a DIY art/music space with a coffee bar, lending library, meeting place free skool and radical community resource. They host concerts, workshops, art teach-ins, puppet shows, benefits and skill sharing to promote education, mutual aid and solidarity. Open Sunday - Thursday 6 p.m. - midnight, Friday and Saturday 6 p.m. - 2 a.m. 2014 Washington Ave. Houston, TX 77007. 713 864-0972, creative_autonomy@hotmail.com.

Monkey Wrench Books opens in Austin

MonkeyWrench Books is an all-volunteer, collectively operated radical bookstore and community space. We host meetings, video screenings, book signings, and a myriad of other types of events. The store stocks a slew of anarchist books and periodicals and a selection of broader radical literature. Open Mon-Fri 11 am - 8 pm, Sat-Sun 10 am - 9 pm 110 E. North Loop, Austin, TX 78751 (512)-407-MWBK collective@monkeywrenchbooks.org

Beth O'Brien 1979-2002

Beth aka Horehound, aka Dumpster Leg falls to her death from tree-sit at Eagle Creek, Oregon

*"It could have been me but instead it was you
So I'll keep doing the work you were doing as if
I were two" — Holly Near*

By T. Wingnut

Our friend Beth O'Brien was killed at the Eagle Creek tree-sit in the Mount Hood National Forest in Oregon on April 12 2002. She fell 150 feet (50m) when she slipped while climbing a rope ladder between two platforms. She had just snowshoed in with supplies. We know that she was very excited to be there and her death in this tragic accident makes us very sad. She was 22 years old. The tree-sit had just, three days before, succeeded in saving the forest from logging, and activists were only waiting for signed documents canceling the timber sale before coming down.

She was from Santa Rosa, California where she started a local Food Not Bombs, worked with Earth First! and the Purple Berets against police brutality and she made many things happen with her energy. Recently she had moved to Oregon to work with the Cascadia Forest Defenders. In the Bay Area we remember her coming to events where she shared her indignation at protests and showed her love of life.

At her funeral in Santa Rosa her Father noted right-wing talk-show host Rush Limbaugh had called her a "Tree-sit suicide bomber" and said "If she was saving the trees why didn't they save her". This outraged him and he called for us to take action.

Oona Sofia Wieske 1980-2002 Emma Alyse Berger 1980-2002

By The Trumbullplex Anarchist Collective

On February 12, Oona and Emma, activists with Detroit's anarchist Trumbullplex project, and their Trumbullplex housemates/friends, Jason and Jesse, were returning from an incredible journey to Hawaii, when a terrible automobile crash occurred only 10 minutes from Emma's uncle's house in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Emma and Oona died instantly. Jesse was seriously injured and is recovering quickly. Jason was able to walk away from the accident with bruises. We are so fortunate that Jesse and Jason survived the accident.

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In Hawaii, they had been staying in a tree house, hiking around volcanoes, swimming in bottomless pools, sleeping on beaches, and eating coconuts and passion fruit. The last conversations with Emma and Oona on the phone were so descriptive of the amazing experiences they were all having. Their friends and family are so grateful, knowing that they were in "paradise" having the time of their lives.

Words fail to express the deep loss everyone who knew Oona and Emma feel. In Emma's brief life, she touched so many people, giving hope, a smile, or a hug to all she met.

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We miss Oona and Emma so much, however, we recognize how incredibly grateful and privileged we are to have had their love and friendship. With their families and friends, we have had the most amazing memorials and parties to celebrate their lives. We should all aspire to live such inspiring and fulfilling lives as Oona and Emma. Us kids at the Trumbullplex live for revolutionary change through them everyday. Oona and Emma will always be alive in our hearts.

The loss of four amazing anarchist womyn already this year--Oona, Emma, Sera, and Beth (Horehound)-- is a devastating blow to our communities, as it is to the world. We must keep their fires burning, and as best we can, make all of their dreams come true.

We at the Trumbullplex are forever grateful to all of the donations and support that we have received. We thank you all so much for your compassion. Donations can be made in Oona's honor to PuppetART/the Detroit Puppet Theatre or to Detroit Waldorf School. Donations can be made in Emma's honor to Prevent Child Abuse DE (PCAD), which will allow a coloring/activity book for children, that Emma designed, to be published.

4210 Trumbull Detroit MI, 48208
313.832.1845/79520

Sera Bilezikyan 1978-2002

to feel really strong emotions and dream big dreams. Underneath all the tattoos and

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Boiling Point Infoshop And Resource Center

An infoshop, radical book library, educational space. arts/music venue with space for art galleries, bands, creative events, etc. Also free store with clothes, books and food. Open Monday, Wednesday, and Friday-Sunday from 2-8pm. 2109B N. Graham Street, Charlotte NC 28206, 704-517-0501 boilingpoint@hotmail.com, www.boilingpointinfoshop.com.

Breakdown Book Collective and Community Space

Breakdown is a community space and book store in Denver, Colorado dedicated to building a non-capitalist participatory institution that will provide alternative forms of information and a space for community, political and artistic events. Featuring new and used books, lending library, video library, meeting space and free high speed internet access. Open 12-9 everyday but Monday.

1630 Platte St. Denver. 303 433-5836

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At her funeral in Santa Rosa her Father noted right-wing talk-show host Rush Limbaugh had called her a "Tree-sit suicide bomber" and said "If she was saving the trees why didn't they save her". This outraged him and he called for us to take action.

Cascade Forest Alliance noted "Years of community efforts, heralded by direct action, have protected the Eagle Creek area thus far. . . . Tree-sitting is a risk taken to protect our remaining native forest from destruction. It is a tragedy that such risks must be taken. While we recognize the dangers inherent in tree-sitting, we take safety seriously. Tree-sitters and tree-climbing trainers are taught the best safety available and constantly stress the importance of conveying safety protocols to others. This tragic accident results because communities must risk their lives to protect their land. We view Beth's death in a tradition of courageous action to defend life that extends through decades of non-violent protest in the US and abroad."



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Words fail to express the deep loss everyone who knew Oona and Emma feel. In Emma's brief life, she touched so many people, giving hope, a smile, or a hug to all she met.



Activist, traveler, musician, and one of the best goddamned writers around, Sera lost the good fight on January 12, 2002 when she drove her truck over the Susquehanna River, turned around and traveled halfway across the southbound side, and leaped into the water. The lives of hundreds of people across the country were dimmed in the following weeks.

Friends tell of her passion for life, an energy and strength of emotion so strong that it also took the form of inner demons. As her friend Sascha puts it, "She struggled for justice and peace wherever she went, but she didn't know how to treat herself justly or what it was like to be at peace within."

In her last column in Slug and Lettuce, she wrote: "These days, I've been climbing a lot. Bridges, abandoned building, rusty iron structures which serve no obvious purpose except to jump from the past into the immediate. And I am not scared, looking at myself. If anything, I'll recognise the real truth of who I am."

And Sascha wrote: "It was obvious from the first time we hung out that Sera wasn't afraid

to feel really strong emotions and dream big dreams. Underneath all the tattoos and attitude, Sera was definitely insecure in a bunch of ways, constantly struggling with her sense of identity and feeling out of place in the world. But the flipside of her insecurity was that she had this brilliance which shined."

The loss of four amazing anarchist womyn already this year--Oona, Emma, Sera, and Beth (Horehound)-- is a devastating blow to our communities, as it is to the world. We must keep their fires burning, and as best we can, make all of their dreams come true.

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And here's some more addresses we got

Stonewall Library

1717 North Andrews Ave. Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33311

Durland Alternative Library

127 Anabel Taylor Hall Ithaca, NY 14853

Alternative Reading Room

40 Wall St. Asheville, NC 28801

Spaces that have shut down

We've been told that the following spaces have shut down since publication of the 2002 *Slingshot Organizer*. Let us know if you have information like this.

Liberation Collective, Portland, Oregon
Secret Sailor Books, Bloomington, IN
Hungry Head Books, Eugene, OR

Boiling Point Infoshop And Resource Center

An infoshop, radical book library, educational space. arts/music venue with space for art galleries, bands, creative events, etc. Also free store with clothes, books and food. Open Monday, Wednesday, and Friday-Sunday from 2-8pm. 2109B N. Graham Street, Charlotte NC 28206, 704-517-0501 boilingpoint@hotmail.com, www.boilingpointinfoshop.com.

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1630 Platte St. Denver. 303 433-5836
Breakdowncollective@hypocrisy.org

Civic Media Center - Harrisonburg Opens and then gets Shut Down!

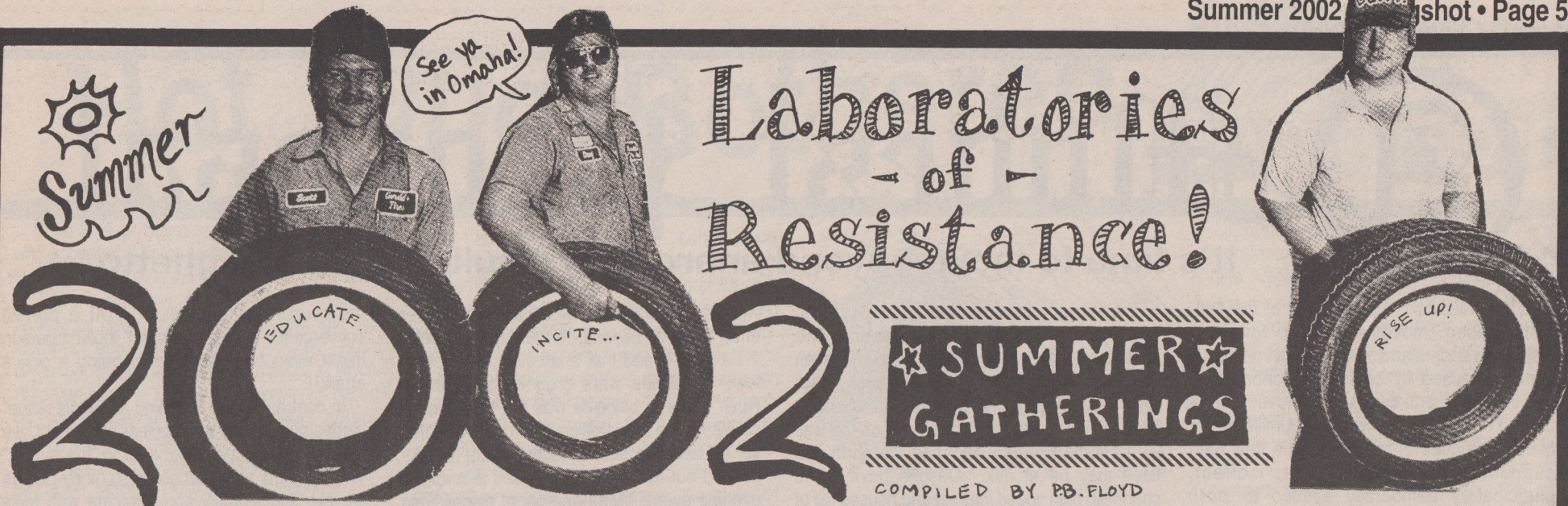
Folks opened a media center and infoshop at 360 N. High St. in downtown Harrisonburgh, VA early this spring, operating Food Not Bombs, having shows, etc. We just got word that they were suddenly shut down April 26 by the city and their landlord on bogus grounds (alleged fire code violations, etc.). The shut down was without warning, and appeared to be politically motivated. They're trying to find another space and re-open. Wish 'em luck.

Solidarity Books opens in Indianapolis

860 Virginia Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46203-1705, 317-822-8004, solidaritybooks@yahoo.com

Bookshop INFO and Kafé in Stockholm, Sweden

An Infoshop open everyday except Saturdays noon-8 p.m. Tjärhovsgatan 46, 116 28 Stockholm Sverige Tel +46 (0)8- 6445312. Metro: Medborgarplatsen



Fourth Annual Underground Publishing Conference • Bowling Green, Ohio

June 22-23, 2002

Sharing Our Tools, Refusing the Master's. A weekend devoted to educating ourselves about reclaiming media resources. Pre-register. www.clamormagazine.org

Take the Capital! Two Days of Resistance to Capitalism, Imperialism and the G8 • Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

June 26-27, 2002

Oppose the G8 and support of local and regional grassroots social justice efforts. Two days of protest featuring demonstrations, popular education, civil disobedience and direct action targeting the political and economic power of the national Canadian capital. Organizers have "respect for a diversity of tactics, meaning manifold forms of resistance in mutual solidarity and respect, while aiming to ensure the safety and defense of all participants. Contact: (613) 788 3310, takeethecapital@tao.ca, www.takeethecapital.net

Convergence to Oppose The Southern Republican Leadership Conference • Charlotte, North Carolina

June 27-30, 2002

Second Annual Portland Zine Symposium • Portland, Oregon

July 12-14, 2002

Conference on zines, underground publishing and DIY culture. Workshops, panel discussions, films, bands, readings, tables. Free admission, housing and food. Portland State University Campus, downtown Portland. Contact PO Box 14332, Portland, OR 97293, info@pdxzines.com

Southern Girls Convention • Athens, Georgia

July 18 - 21, 2002

A meeting of student-age (and all other age!) activists to share ideas, learn new skills, and have fun as a community of Southern women. Discuss women's empowerment, Southern culture, workshops, a women's art show, musical entertainment, and tables. On the University of Georgia campus. Info SGC, PO Box 1661 Athens, GA 30603, (706) 543-1846, www.southerngirlsconvention.com

Conference of Democratic Workplaces • College Park, Maryland

July 19-21, 2002

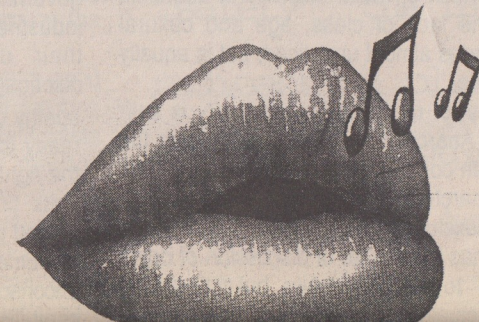
"Sharing the Promise: Economic Democracy at Work" an Eastern conference of worker cooperatives and democratic ESOPs. Foster mutual aid and intercooperation, provide co-

get autonomous anarchist anti-prison groups acquainted and developing an ABC network; and to help people interested in prisoner support work to organize effective ABC groups in their communities. Those affiliated with an autonomous Anarchist Black Cross group, anti-prison group, prisoner support collective or who are active in the movement against prisons, criminalization and incarceration; and those interested in forming an ABC group or in being involved in supporting the movement against prisons and in support of prisoners are welcome to attend. Contact: Austin ABC, PO Box 19733, Austin, TX 78760-9733, austinabc@hotmail.com www.anarchistblackcross.org.

General Assembly Of Funtime Enthusiasts! • Seattle, Washington

Late July, 2002

Mad gathering that cannot be summarized. See article, Pg. 13.



Fourth Annual Underground Publishing Conference • Bowling Green, Ohio

June 22-23, 2002

Sharing Our Tools, Refusing the Master's. A weekend devoted to educating ourselves about reclaiming media resources. Pre-register. www.clamormagazine.org

Take the Capital! Two Days of Resistance to Capitalism, Imperialism and the G8 • Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

June 26-27, 2002

Oppose the G8 and support of local and regional grassroots social justice efforts. Two days of protest featuring demonstrations, popular education, civil disobedience and direct action targeting the political and economic power of the national Canadian capital. Organizers have "respect for a diversity of tactics, meaning manifold forms of resistance in mutual solidarity and respect, while aiming to ensure the safety and defense of all participants. Contact: (613) 788 3310, takeethecapital@tao.ca, www.takeethecapital.net

Convergence to Oppose The Southern Republican Leadership Conference • Charlotte, North Carolina

June 27-30, 2002

Stop the War at Home and Abroad! Another World Is Possible! The Southern Republican Leadership Conference (SRLC), the second largest gathering of Republicans in the nation, will have its biennial meeting in Charlotte, NC. This year, SRLC organizers hope to have an appearance from President George Bush. For years now, people across the US and the world have gathered to protest at every meeting of the world power elite to demand global justice. This conference should be no exception! Organizers are calling on all people of conscience, people concerned about the standard of living for working people and the poor, people who care about civil liberties and the rights of immigrants, those who care about women, children, and the elderly, those who wish the end civilian casualties in our name, and those who are tired of seeing the people of the world suffer at the hands of U.S. foreign policy. We ask you to join us in Charlotte to say "ENOUGH"! We will join together to declare that another world is possible; a world of peace and equality, a world of true democracy where no one goes hungry and people are put before profit. For more information, contact no_srlc@hotmail.com

Earth First Round River Rendezvous • Gifford Pinochet National Forest Washington State

July 1 - 8, 2002

Annual National EF! Gathering. Workshops, networking, campfires, carousing. \$20-25/no one turned away. Contact

Second Annual Portland Zine Symposium • Portland, Oregon

July 12-14, 2002

Conference on zines, underground publishing and DIY culture. Workshops, panel discussions, films, bands, readings, tables. Free admission, housing and food. Portland State University Campus, downtown Portland. Contact PO Box 14332, Portland, OR 97293, info@pdxzines.com

Southern Girls Convention • Athens, Georgia

July 18 - 21, 2002

A meeting of student-age (and all other age!) activists to share ideas, learn new skills, and have fun as a community of Southern women. Discuss women's empowerment, Southern culture, workshops, a women's art show, musical entertainment, and tables. On the University of Georgia campus. Info SGC, PO Box 1661 Athens, GA 30603, (706) 543-1846, www.southerngirlsconvention.com

Conference of Democratic Workplaces • College Park, Maryland

July 19-21, 2002

"Sharing the Promise: Economic Democracy at Work" an Eastern conference of worker cooperatives and democratic ESOPs. Foster mutual aid and intercooperation, provide co-op education and training and build the workplace democracy movement. Expensive registration. University of Maryland campus. Contact National Comparative Business Association, 1401 New York Ave., NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005, 202 383-5450, www.ncba.coop



Anti-racist, Anti-Border Camp • Strausbourg, French-German border

July 19-28, 2002

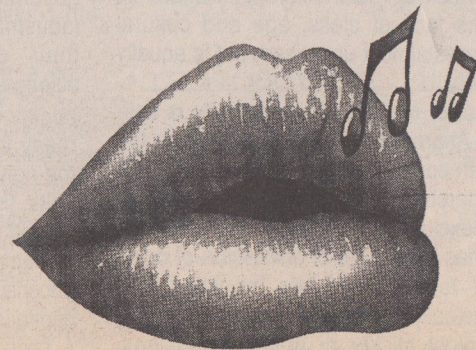
From the call for action "Freedom of movement has been a central demand in the last few years, when grassroots groups started to organize noborder-camps at different borders of fortress Europe: against the militarized borders around Europe, with their weapons, control technologies and the racist support of many people in the European countries. This is the opposite of our dreams to create a world without borders. We seek to act concretely against the instruments of state control in all their multiplying forms. Strasbourg houses the Schengen Information System (SIS), a central piece of the control machine. This search and control database with tens of thousands of terminals across Europe aims first and foremost at migrants. However it is not only

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General Assembly Of Funtime Enthusiasts! • Seattle, Washington

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Green Anarchy Tour • North America

July - August, 2002

Mobile Film Fest, Book Exchange, Direct Action Workshop, Speakers and Punk Rock show touring North America. Check www.greenanarchy.org to see when it will be in your area and how you can help out.

Bike Summer • Portland, Oregon

August 1 - 31, 2002

The fourth annual bike summer is a month long celebration of bikes, bike activism and alternatives to car domination. Portland is one of the nation's most bike friendly cities. Rides, films, forums, events, etc. everyday including full moon ride, women's ride, midsummer night bike ride, urban design ride, breakfast on the bridges and much more. Write Bike Summer Portland, PO Box 786, Portland OR 97207, bikesummer@pdxbikes.org.

Cascadia Media Alliance Community Media Counter-Conference against the National Association of Broadcasters • Seattle, Washington

September 9-14, 2002

Northwest Regional Community Radio and Low Power FM Summit, with two days of seminars and workshops on

year, SRLC organizers hope to have an appearance from President George Bush. For years now, people across the US and the world have gathered to protest at every meeting of the world power elite to demand global justice. This conference should be no exception! Organizers are calling on all people of conscience, people concerned about the standard of living for working people and the poor, people who care about civil liberties and the rights of immigrants, those who care about women, children, and the elderly, those who wish the end civilian casualties in our name, and those who are tired of seeing the people of the world suffer at the hands of U.S. foreign policy. We ask you to join us in Charlotte to say "ENOUGH"! We will join together to declare that another world is possible; a world of peace and equality, a world of true democracy where no one goes hungry and people are put before profit. For more information, contact no_src@hotmail.com

Earth First Round River Rendezvous • Gifford Pinchot National Forest Washington State

July 1 - 8, 2002

Annual National EF! Gathering. Workshops, networking, campfires, carousing. \$20-25/no one turned away. Contact EF! Journal PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702.



Rainbow Gathering / Temporary Autonomous Zone • Great Lakes Region

July 1 - 7, 2002

North American Annual Gathering Of The Tribes, somewhere in the Great Lakes (Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota) area. Spring Council is June 14-15, so ask a hippie for precise directions after that date. Ignore All Rumors of Cancellation! (Or organization). This year, the feds want to shut it down, threatening blockades, water cutoffs, firepit removals, etc. Its been going strong without money or the state for 30 years. Defend this huge temporary autonomous zone. Contact www.welcomehome.org

1105 New York Ave., NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005, 202 383-5450, www.ncba.coop



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North American Anarchist Black Cross Conference • Austin, Texas

July 26-28, 2002

The Anarchist Black Cross movement seeks to bring attention to issues related to incarceration, criminalization and the treatment of adults and juveniles in state, private and federal correctional facilities. Goals of this meeting include: to build our solidarity and communications among the various autonomous prisoner support tendencies; to learn together and from one another via our experiences, and educate on the ins and out of prisoner support, freedom campaigns, etc.; to

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International Protest Against the World Bank and IMF • Washington, DC

October 1-3, 2002

Several days of anti-capitalist protest against the World Bank and IMF. Currently being organized by the Anti-Capitalist Convergence-DC and the Mobilization for Global Justice. Rumors indicate this will be the Big Thing for the fall protest season. Book your airline tickets / hitchhiking / trainhopping now! www.abolishthebank.org/

Autonomous Media Conference • Tucson, Arizona

October 3-6, 2002

Workshops on pirate radio, DIY Publishing, billboard alteration, starting an Infoshop and graffiti. At the Matt Bevel Institute, 530 N. Stone Avenue, Tucson Contact PO Box 1731 Tucson, AZ 85702, (520) 628-8720, www.consensus.net/autonomousmedia.html



Modest Proposal

It's time to move beyond anarchism's cultural / social ghetto

By PB Floyd

In the wake of the emergence of the anti-globalization movement, and following increasing understanding of the environmental damage caused by capitalist economics, a thriving new anti-capitalism movement is coming of age across the globe. Unlike earlier Marxist critiques of capitalism, the new anti-capitalist movement favors direct, participatory democracy applied to *both* political and economic matters. Blossoming more than 10 years after the end of the cold war, the new anti-capitalists can no longer be dismissed as Stalinist relics. Anti-capitalist theory and struggle is popping up in the developing world and the first world simultaneously. Both in the United States and elsewhere, the formerly tiny anarchist community is positioned at the center of anti-capitalist activities.

In this context, looking at what passes for the anarchist "scene" as we've known it in the US is pretty discouraging. Even despite some recent improvements, it is overwhelmingly youth oriented, mostly white, and seems to celebrate and intentionally seek marginalization. For all the handwringing about the lack of racial diversity in anarchist circles, the lack of class, age and cultural diversity goes almost unnoticed, but is equally problematic.

Sadly, a lot of the lack of diversity is self-inflicted. Anarchist politics are tied much too closely with counter-cultural tendencies. Walk into an anarchist convergence space and the feeling of exclusivity is palpable.

There has been a lot of discussion of doing "outreach" to the community, but little action, that I've actually seen aside from wheatpasting

The current political context is a crucial opportunity to move beyond the punk/anarchist ghetto. Millions of people, even in the privileged, asleep U\$A, are looking for radical alternatives to capitalism. Average folks realize that the handwriting is on the wall — if people keep squandering the earth, life itself may be at risk. Despite having 200 channels, high speed internet and houses full of

week of outreach would be a decentralized effort to move beyond the punk/youth ghetto.

Last fall I read that anarchists at a college town in Florida were organizing a "radical Rush" drive to coincide with the beginning of classes at the local university. For a week, they set up tables in public places to talk to folks, handed out flyers, and advertised a couple of evening events (films and panel discussions,

the counter-cultural "norm." (At a protest convergence space, a "normal" looking person might even be suspected of being a police agent!)

In contrast, when I worked in "single issue" campaigns like the anti-nuclear movement, we were always focused *outward* to "the public." Why does the anarchist scene so rarely believe we can successfully communicate with folks outside our own circles?

I should point out that what I'm proposing should *not* be confused with evangelism — i.e. a vanguardist belief that we have the "correct" ideas and that we should "convert the masses" to anarchism. The topic of how to do anarchist outreach that avoids evangelism could easily be the subject of a whole article.

The key would be asking anarchist *questions*, spending time to engage in discussion and debate, and being clear that anti-authoritarian thought permits each of us to conceive our own answers and our own vision for the future.

I arbitrarily propose September 4-7 for a national week of Outreach since its after Labor Day and folks should be back from their summer travels. But please, pick your own date. Good luck.

Thousands of people go to each national anti-globalization gathering — what if even a thousand people participated in a national outreach week?

products, life ruled by the market and consumption is *empty, lonely and sad*.

A lot of people who are totally outside the current anarchist social/cultural circles, and who are therefore summarily excluded from consideration as potential anarchists, nonetheless have a deep mistrust of government, corporations, and the current industrial/capitalist system. They express their dissatisfaction as cynicism and disengagement, which can be confused with apathy or acceptance. They are a silent tiger, ready to resist and disrupt the system under the right circumstances.

Its time anarchists in the current scene started taking themselves a bit more seriously. Its time to take down barriers that are unconsciously erected to the expansion of anti-capitalist, anarchist critiques.

etc.) The effort involved a coalition of various groups, each of which provided volunteers for the tables during one or two days during the week. The goal was to be minimally visible to people outside the established "scene" who might be interested. Rather than assume that "the public" are hopeless or worse yet, the enemy, these folks took a chance.

This is the kind of thing I imagine, carried out in as many communities by as many anarchists as possible. If people put as much effort, time and money into such a campaign as they did in traveling to and participating in a typical national gathering, imagine the scope of such an effort. Thousands of people go to each national gathering — what if even a thousand people participated in a national outreach week?

Most anarchist activity I see is focused



more than 10 years after the end of the cold war, the new anti-capitalists can no longer be dismissed as Stalinist relics. Anti-capitalist theory and struggle is popping up in the developing world and the first world simultaneously. Both in the United States and elsewhere, the formerly tiny anarchist community is positioned at the center of anti-capitalist activities.

In this context, looking at what passes for the anarchist "scene" as we've known it in the US is pretty discouraging. Even despite some recent improvements, it is overwhelmingly youth oriented, mostly white, and seems to celebrate and intentionally seek marginalization. For all the handwringing about the lack of racial diversity in anarchist circles, the lack of class, age and cultural diversity goes almost unnoticed, but is equally problematic.

Sadly, a lot of the lack of diversity is self-inflicted. Anarchist politics are tied much too closely with counter-cultural tendencies. Walk into an anarchist convergence space and the feeling of exclusivity is palpable.

There has been a lot of discussion of doing "outreach" to the community, but little action that I've actually seen aside from wheatpasting and late-night sticker or graffiti campaigns. If you tallied up the number of hours spent by anarchists on various projects, you'd have to conclude that we're more interested in having puppets in the movement than actual live, human beings.

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Its time anarchists in the current scene started taking themselves a bit more seriously. Its time to take down barriers that are unconsciously erected to the expansion of anti-capitalist, anarchist critiques.

I don't claim to know how to accomplish these goals, but I do have a modest suggestion: a national week of outreach. Unlike the traditional "day of action" in which folks from everywhere gather at one central location for (often symbolic) street protests, a national

etc.) The effort involved a coalition of various groups, each of which provided volunteers for the tables during one or two days during the week. The goal was to be minimally visible to people outside the established "scene" who might be interested. Rather than assume that "the public" are hopeless or worse yet, the enemy, these folks took a chance.

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Most anarchist activity I see is focused *inward* on "preaching to the converted", i.e. organizing skillshares, bookfairs, and conferences. Someone outside the established "circle" has to work hard to find out about these events, and if they show up to one, they would likely feel out of place if they didn't fit

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Action tactics fantasies

If anarchists are going to go to leftist or liberal organized demonstrations, at least let's not act like fucking sheep!

By P. Wingnut

Over the past six months of mass demonstrations against US military action, Israeli atrocities and other post 9-11 outrages, anarchists have faced the same tactical problem over and over again. It goes like this:

The International Action Center (IAC) or some other non-anarchist activist machine calls for a mass demonstration. At the

boring. As an individual, what can you do?

The reality is that even a relatively small group within such a mass can redirect events, but only if such a small group has a certain level of organization, communication and decision making capacity.

What *isn't* needed is appointment of an anarchist "leader" or formation of its bastard cousin — the anarchist "steering committee". We don't need more endless meetings to

heard the word would start chanting it too. Within a matter of seconds, everyone in the group heard the word and we would rapidly form a circle. One member of the group carried a pink flag with a drawing of a wingnut to help keep us together. In the circle, proposals would quickly be made, debated, and a decision reached. If there wasn't complete consensus, the group could and did split into smaller groups. The key was a feeling of solidarity, flexibility and a commitment to

But then, with the sizable crowd stranded before a riot-gearred police line, a lot of us realized that the best next step was to keep the crowd moving around the police line, or at least open a second front to create confusion and disrupt the police. The police accomplish their mission of maintaining order when they're engaged in a stable stand-off with a crowd. They don't mind — they're getting overtime and they know precisely where the crowd is.

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The International Action Center (IAC) or some other non-anarchist activist machine calls for a mass demonstration. At the demonstration, anarchists are there in force. We find ourselves perhaps clustering with our friends and acquaintances to march together. But at the crucial moment when an opportunity presents itself to up the militancy of the demonstration, or refuse to be part of something silly planned by liberal "demonstration leaders", you hear a lot of sarcastic comments and clever suggestions, but nothing happens. We find ourselves marching together to hang out with our friends, but not really acting to shape the demonstration or provide our unique perspective on the issue at hand. We're basically acting like sheep, which is to say, being lazy.

I even went to one huge demonstration (on April 20 in San Francisco) where a Black Block of anarchists carrying black flags, some even in face masks, acted the same way. Without direction. Without the capacity to act effectively and spontaneously as a group.

Mass demonstrations make you feel sheep-like, each individual seemingly powerless to direct events. The only option is to continue marching ahead with the mass, even when *many individuals* in the crowd may *individually* wish the whole affair wasn't so lifeless, formalistic,

boring. As an individual, what can you do?

The reality is that even a relatively small group within such a mass can redirect events, but only if such a small group has a certain level of organization, communication and decision making capacity.

What *isn't* needed is appointment of an anarchist "leader" or formation of its bastard cousin — the anarchist "steering committee". We don't need more endless meetings to discuss standing institutional structures or

heard the word would start chanting it too. Within a matter of seconds, everyone in the group heard the word and we would rapidly form a circle. One member of the group carried a pink flag with a drawing of a wingnut to help keep us together. In the circle, proposals would quickly be made, debated, and a decision reached. If there wasn't complete consensus, the group could and did split into smaller groups. The key was a feeling of solidarity, flexibility and a commitment to quick decision making. This simple structure

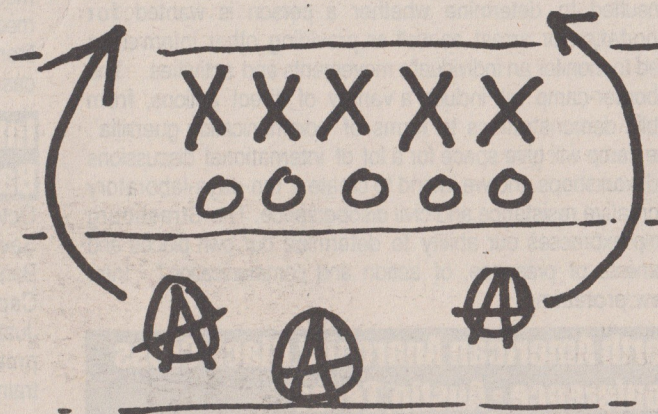


figure out precisely how we should act in advance.

The answer to anarchist ineffectiveness and boredom at mass demonstrations is *effective affinity group structure*. In Seattle at the WTO, about 40 of us from the East Bay made numerous spontaneous decisions quickly and mostly democratically. Whenever it seemed like we needed to decide which way to go or what to do next, anyone in the group could yell a code word ("Wingnut") and everyone who

or something like it could be worked out in anarchist scenes around the country as a kind of structureless "understanding."

At a recent IAC-organized Berkeley mass march against the Israeli invasion of Palestinian areas, 40 or 50 activists from Students for Justice in Palestine led the formless crowd into a line of police who were protecting the freeway entrance. There were a number of anarchists marching who generally thought this escalation was excellent.

But then, with the sizable crowd stranded before a riot-gearred police line, a lot of us realized that the best next step was to keep the crowd moving around the police line, or at least open a second front to create confusion and disrupt the police. The police accomplish their mission of maintaining order when they're engaged in a stable stand-off with a crowd. They don't mind — they're getting overtime and they know precisely where the crowd is.

When the crowd splits into different parts, a third trying to overwhelm another freeway entrance, a third entering a nearby commercial strip, a third tying the police down at the stand-off, the police with their hierarchical decision making structure and limited number of radio channels and event commanders can't handle it. The first police line must fall back so officers can be pulled off to deal with other groups.

A number of us tried to organize a break-away march, but eventually realized it was hopeless. We'd get a few ready to go, then look for more to join us, and by the time we returned, the original group would have dissolved. We had no way to make spontaneous, effective, inclusive democratic decisions and we had no means for quick, spontaneous communication.

Things would have turned out much differently if the anarchist community had reached an "understanding" for spontaneous affinity group formation, structure and tactics. It's a shame for anarchists to be spending their time at liberal-organized mass demonstrations with so little to show for it. If we can open up ways to spice things up a bit, our time won't be spent in vain.

Don't Point that Flag at Me

The idea that an understanding of the genocide, that a memory of the holocausts, can only lead people to want to dismantle the system, is erroneous. The continuing appeal of nationalism suggests that the opposite is truer, namely that an understanding of genocide has led people to mobilize genocide armies, that the memory of holocausts has led people to perpetrate holocausts.

- *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism*
by Fredy Perlman

By PiratePrentice

I have seen lots of folks brandishing Palestinian flags at demonstrations lately. Flying flags from cars, flourishing flags during marches, dancing down the street with flags at the protests. Superficially, it was exhilarating to see a displaced people, (many, though certainly not all, of the flag wavers were Palestinian), expressing solidarity with their oppressed brethren half a world away. On a deeper level, it was profoundly disturbing. I kept flashing back to all those televised welcome-home parades at the end of the Gulf War. My fellow Americans were also waving their flags with a wild enthusiasm. Ultimately, flags are more deadly than bullets. A bullet can kill only once; a flag induces a mass hysteria that can kill millions.

Don't get me wrong. I completely support the Palestinian people and their struggle against the continuing atrocities of the Israeli government. However, support for the people is not the same as support for a bloody corrupt dictator and a handful of religious fanatics. Fanatics who have no respect for their own people's lives.

Neither Yasser Arafat nor Hamas want peace. Neither does George Bush, nor Ariel Sharon, nor any other political leader. They all need the violence to continue in order to maintain their own power; having an external enemy induces insane levels of patriotism.

peace groups attempted to break the siege of Ramallah with food and medical supplies. There are over four hundred and sixty refusniks from the Israeli Defense Force who have refused to serve in the occupied territories.

And recently, several hundred Palestinian academics and professors convened a National People's congress in Ramallah to call for new elections of the Palestinian leadership, legislative council, and local authorities.

After the immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and the dismantlement of the illegal Zionist settlements on the West Bank that were responsible for sparking this latest intifada,



most see a two-state solution as the only answer. The Palestinians will have their own state, consisting of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. This will co-exist with the present, though smaller, Israeli state.

What about a no-state solution? Self

Middle East need an Israeli foreign devil in order to stabilize their own governments. The multi-nationals need that stability to keep the oil flowing. The global corporations that Israel has always thought of an ally are in fact an enemy.

This conflict is not unique to Israel/Palestine. There are a greater number of suicide bombings in Sri Lanka than in Israel. There are wars and insurrections presently taking place in Sierra Leone, Sudan, Bolivia, Afganistan, and Iraq. All of these conflicts have two things in common - the leaders on one or both sides are using the conflict to maintain their domination over their own people, and some corporation is making, or hopes to be



Mayday Around the US and Around the world

Protests, celebrations, and riots to remind the rich that class war is still on marked the May Day 2002 worker's holiday. This year was marked by an increase in US participation, as well as massive increases in the size of foreign demonstrations.

In the United states, there were demonstrations in Boston, Chicago, Colorado Springs, Honolulu, Lewiston ME, New York City, Philadelphia, Apoka Florida, Washington DC, New Orleans, Colombia MO, Portland, Eugene, Los Angeles, and of course San Francisco. The US demos attracted hundreds of demonstrators in each city and focused on local as well as international issues.

The international protests were huge, with crowds numbering in the thousands and tens of thousands, rather than the hundreds. There were demonstrations throughout Germany, throughout France, throughout Spain. There were demos in Sweden, Poland, Argentina, Italy, Uruguay, England, Scotland, Australia, Canada, South Korea, the Philippines, Greece,

making, a lot of money from them

We can no longer continue to put all our efforts into these political struggles. No matter which side wins, the people always lose. Only after we destroy Global Capitalism, here in the United States as well as abroad, can we

at the protests. Superficially, it was exhilarating to see a displaced people, (many, though certainly not all, of the flag wavers were Palestinian), expressing solidarity with their oppressed brethren half a world away. On a deeper level, it was profoundly disturbing. I kept flashing back to all those televised welcome-home parades at the end of the Gulf War. My fellow Americans were also waving their flags with a wild enthusiasm. Ultimately, flags are more deadly than bullets. A bullet can kill only once; a flag induces a mass hysteria that can kill millions.

Don't get me wrong. I completely support the Palestinian people and their struggle against the continuing atrocities of the Israeli government. However, support for the people is not the same as support for a bloody corrupt dictator and a handful of religious fanatics. Fanatics who have no respect for their own people's lives.

Neither Yasser Arafat nor Hamas want peace. Neither does George Bush, nor Ariel Sharon, nor any other political leader. They all need the violence to continue in order to maintain their own power; having an external enemy induces insane levels of patriotism. Insane patriotism is the most effective method to divert domestic discontent from the State, as well as generating enormous revenues. If there is to be peace in the Middle East, it will have to be made between the Palestinian and Israeli people and not by their respective governments. Governments are what got them into this mess in the first place.

Direct Actions are already taking place among both the Palestinians and Israelis who are demanding a just peace and government reforms. Earlier this year, a coalition of Israeli



most see a two-state solution as the only answer. The Palestinians will have their own state, consisting of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. This will co-exist with the present, though smaller, Israeli state.

What about a no-state solution? Self determination for everyone, no borders, police, or soldiers. A right-of-return for both Jews and Palestinians. A no-state solution is more practical than a two-state solution. As distasteful as this is for the left to admit, Israel can never have lasting peace as an independent nation. Not, because Israel is inherently evil, but because Aramco, Exxon, British Petroleum, and Royal Dutch Shell have a personal investment in a continuous, low-level conflict. The corrupt oil oligarchies in the

making, a lot of money from them

We can no longer continue to put all our efforts into these political struggles. No matter which side wins, the people always lose. Only after we destroy Global Capitalism, here in the United States as well as abroad, can we have a lasting peace - in the Middle East or anywhere else.

Well, I have already stated that some good is occasionally accomplished by political action --- But I am abundantly convinced that the occasional good accomplished is more than counterbalanced by the evil; just as I am convinced that though there are occasional evils resulting through direct action, they are more than counterbalanced by the good.

- Direct Action by Voltairine De Cleyre

the US and Around the world

Protests, celebrations, and riots to remind the rich that class war is still on marked the May Day 2002 worker's holiday. This year was marked by an increase in US participation, as well as massive increases in the size of foreign demonstrations.

In the United States, there were demonstrations in Boston, Chicago, Colorado Springs, Honolulu, Lewiston ME, New York City, Philadelphia, Apoka Florida, Washington DC, New Orleans, Colombia MO, Portland, Eugene, Los Angeles, and of course San Francisco. The US demos attracted hundreds of demonstrators in each city and focused on local as well as international issues.

The international protests were huge, with crowds numbering in the thousands and tens of thousands, rather than the hundreds. There were demonstrations throughout Germany, throughout France, throughout Spain. There were demos in Sweden, Poland, Argentina, Italy, Uruguay, England, Scotland, Australia, Canada, South Korea, the Filipinos, Greece, Turkey, throughout the Arab world, and throughout Southeast Asia. Of course, there were also Mayday Celebrations in Russia and China.

What if all of these people held all of those protests in the same city. It would be bigger than any of the recent more famous Anti-globalization demonstrations; Seattle, Quebec, or Genoa. Remember not to get discouraged, because we appear to be weak locally. We are everywhere and our numbers are growing.

hunger / empathy / power

Continued from page 1

In prison, power takes completely different form. The internationals did not have the power to walk away, to act on their convictions by bringing material aid and vigilant eyes to the centers of massacre and devastation. They could not continue their direct help, so a new

speaking man at the other end of the line does not answer this question. Because this genocide does not involve anyone that the embassy officials know.

The strikers' power is literally the sum of our empathy. The acts of these people are tethered to us by our knowledge of their smiles, their poetry, their fierce convictions.

of the strike. It was not in their interest to just shut up and get out of prison to safety ASAP, because their interests are not only individual. Fighting the fact of their arrest and imprisonment is in their own interests and simultaneously in the interest of "the greater cause" they are engaged in. For this reason, after several days on hunger strike, the US

As humans struggling to live meaningful lives in whatever circumstances, our most powerful tool is human connection. The people we ally ourselves with, whom we teach, learn from, and love are our sources of strength and growth. Real and personal connection is how we lend strength to people across the world.

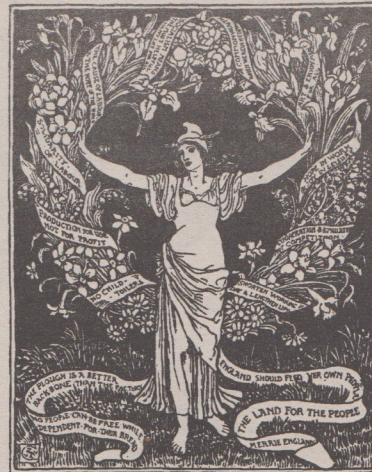
At the time of this writing, at least 5 of the

After the immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and the dismantlement of the illegal Zionist settlements on the West Bank that were responsible for sparking this latest intifada.

This conflict is not unique to Israel/Palestine. There are a greater number of suicide bombings in Sri Lanka than in Israel. There are wars and insurrections presently taking place in Sierra Leone, Sudan, Bolivia, Afganistan, and Iraq. All of these conflicts have two things in common - the leaders on one or both sides are using the conflict to maintain their domination over their own people, and some corporation is making, or hopes to be



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hunger / empathy / power

Continued from page 1

In prison, power takes completely different form. The internationals did not have the power to walk away, to act on their convictions by bringing material aid and vigilant eyes to the centers of massacre and devastation. They could not continue their direct help, so a new power emerged.

The prisoners stopped eating, and then, as the US embassy and media and Israel's Minister of the Interior did nothing they stopped drinking water. They couldn't send their stories through email anymore, so they spoke with the fragility of their personal, particular bodies. But after all they had witnessed, the US government was in no hurry for them to come home.

If you called the embassy in mid-May, you know that the hunger strikers "are fine," in fact, "only one of them is hunger striking." Also it is a "rumor" that one of them passed out after 9 days without food and a few days without water. You know too that the US Embassy "can't tell the Israeli government what to do," even though the US has been financing them to do what they do since 1949. Members of the embassy have no interest in the political reason for the imprisonment, because they are "diplomats," not politicians.

"But you are in a land where people are committing genocide," I say to the faceless voice in Tel Aviv, "genocide. Is this not of personal concern to you?" The agitated, rapid-

speaking man at the other end of the line does not answer this question. Because this genocide does not involve anyone that the embassy officials know.

The strikers' power is literally the sum of our empathy. The acts of these people are tethered to us by our knowledge of their smiles, their poetry, their fierce convictions. They hover in our hearts as we eat breakfast, as we wake at the first light of day wondering if they can feel our love and worry across the time zones and the convoluted versions of truth we struggle to navigate through.

But our friends have refused to eat because, as Trevor Baumgartner, one of the detainees, wrote from Israeli prison in Ramle on May 9, "we know that this struggle is more than about individual fates."

This is about people and how they weave their humanity together into survival. Palestinians send their stories to their friends on the outside, who are our mothers and friends and teachers and lovers, who are you and me. Our friends on hunger strike in Israel are using their delicate bodies and strong spirits as megaphones for the voices of their Palestinian friends, who are eleven years old, sixty years old, thirty-five years old, and who are as varied as the personalities and dreams in your neighborhood. Listen to us, listen to our mutual friends, they say.

Hunger strikes set up the strikers as martyrs. But this is only because so often we don't look beyond the individual to the context

of the strike. It was not in their interest to just shut up and get out of prison to safety ASAP, because their interests are not only individual. Fighting the fact of their arrest and imprisonment is in their own interests and simultaneously in the interest of "the greater cause" they are engaged in. For this reason, after several days on hunger strike, the US detainees decided to go home, whether freely or by deportation (which would ban them from entering Israel for at least 10 years). There is work to be done outside Palestine. We need them here to cut through the media blackout and government lies.

We are living in a time of intense and



righteous dissent. As the despots of the US create more insidious foreign and domestic policy disasters, I struggle, as many do, to develop a sense of power and action that feels effective. I try not to get paralyzed with overwhelming dread while watching imbeciles blunder at the helm of this country.

As humans struggling to live meaningful lives in whatever circumstances, our most powerful tool is human connection. The people we ally ourselves with, whom we teach, learn from, and love are our sources of strength and growth. Real and personal connection is how we lend strength to people across the world.

At the time of this writing, at least 5 of the internationals from the Church of the Nativity action remain imprisoned in Israel. If and when they do all go home, will the massive personal support people gave them in phone calls, faxes, media campaigns, and conversations fade? That support transferred through those internationals to their Palestinian friends who haven't gone home, who are home, and whose fact of homeland is the source of their torture and massacre by the Israeli government. Their struggle and need is not fading.

I don't personally know somebody everywhere. Do you? Do you know somebody who knows somebody? Maybe you can make it your business to make some new friends. So that when atrocities fill the news and flood our minds to the point of tempting paralysis and ambivalence, we are able to defy the attack on our power and actively support Palestinians and people all over who need support.

The media can inundate our minds with lies. But if we insist on opening ourselves to people who bring stories direct from the source, then the strength of human solidarity can challenge and even halt massacre, in Palestine and everywhere.

ISRAEL / Palestine

By Starhawk

In the ruins of Jenin, an old friend of mine is digging bodies out of the rubble where Israeli bulldozers flattened houses, burying people alive. Blackened maggot-ridden corpses, unearthed from the rubble, are displayed to anguished relatives for identification. A teenaged girl unearths an infant's arm and wonders what to do with it. A Palestinian father cries over the dark smears of flesh that once were his two little daughters. Another Jewish friend leaves an anguished message on my cell phone: "I'm in downtown Washington DC. There's a huge, pro-Israel rally going on. I don't understand it. How can Jews support this? I know you must have something inspirational to say. Send me what you write."

She doesn't know that for weeks I've been trying unsuccessfully to write something about the situation. I'm overwhelmed with accounts of the atrocities. Yet I am also haunted by images of bodies shattered at a Seder meal, at a café, a Passover drenched in a new plague of blood. I'm frightened and saddened by the real resurgence of anti-Semitism, by swastikas carried in peace marches, synagogues attacked.

A third friend, a deeply spiritual woman and longtime ecofeminist ally, sends me a copy of a letter she wrote to President Bush entitled, "Standing Firmly With Israel."

margins of the Jewish community. But I am still a Jew, and the view from the edge can sometimes be clearer than that from the center.

The San Francisco Chronicle writes a front page story about a school in Gaza where little Palestinian children are taught to hate Jews. I have no reason to doubt the truth of their story, although I question why they feature it front and center with no counterbalancing tale of, say, the International Solidarity Movement where Palestinians and Jews together risk themselves in nonviolent interventions for peace. The hate is real, and the fear it engenders is also real. Yet the story makes me consider what I was taught in ten or more years of Jewish education that included a teenaged summer spent on a kibbutz.

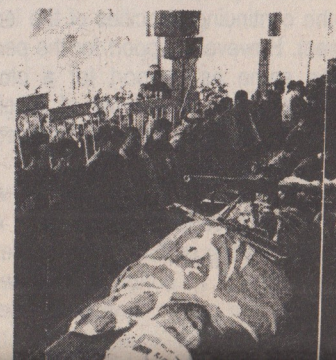
We never chanted, "Kill the Arabs". We were never told in so many words, 'Hate them. Rather, we learned a more subtle discounting, a not-seeing, as if the Palestinians were not full human beings but rather a minor obstacle to the fulfillment of a dream, something to be moved aside, that didn't really count.

unshakeable belief in its own cultural and racial superiority and had for centuries been appropriating the lands of darker peoples.

They came as the settlers came to the "New World", saying, "This land is ours by right, God gave it to us," The people who had lived there during those two thousand years of exile were an impediment. And so began the long litany of justifications: that the land didn't really belong to them but to the Turks or the British; that they weren't doing anything with it, had not made the desert bloom nor drained the swamps, and above all, that they hate us, are raised to hate us, with a hate irrational, implacable, and unchangeable.

The word for this sliding off of the glance, this NonSeeing, is racism. Less blatant, perhaps, than chanting "Kill, kill!" but with the same insidious results.

Yet to simply condemn Zionism as racism without acknowledging the context of centuries of racial hate against Jews from which it arose is to absolve those who have blood on their hands as well. Worse, it is to support the complacency of Jew haters and fascists who now emerge into the open again. Israel has indeed served the interests of the Western powers in subjugating the Arab world. But Israel also arose out of an oppressed people's dream of liberation. To



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In no way can I stand with her. And yet I cannot simply stand against her, either.

I cannot stand with an Israel that tortures prisoners, an Israel that has mounted a restrictive and dehumanizing occupation, that assassinates political leaders as a matter of policy, that has cut down ancient olive groves to destroy the livelihood of the Palestinians, that is daily committing war crimes: refusing medical care to the wounded, firing on journalists and peace demonstrators, bombing civilians, destroying homes. Nor can I stand in the bloody remains of the Seder meal, among the corpses in the café, the restaurant.

Yet to say, "both sides are wrong, both sides should give up violence" is to ignore the reality that one side, the Israeli side, is the fourth largest military power in the world. That the suicide bombs are a direct response to calculated political assassinations and to a brutal occupation that has made life untenable for the Palestinians. That for over fifty years, the State of Israel has failed to guard and cherish the Palestinians' rights, aspirations, and hopes for an independence that could lead to peace and prosperity.

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We were taught to be proud of the brave Zionist settlers and pioneers, the idealistic youth who fled the ghettos and the pogroms of Europe to build a 'new' land. And I am proud, still, of their experiments in new ways of living, their awareness of women's rights, their courage in leaving home and family to escape oppression. But I understand now that they did not come into an empty place, and they did not come with the capability of truly seeing and respecting and honoring the people of the land. They came out of a Europe that had an



superiority and had appropriated the lands of darker peoples. They came as the settlers came to the "New World", saying, "This land is ours by right, God gave it to us." The people who had lived there during those two thousand years of exile were an impediment. And so began the long litany of justifications: that the land didn't really belong to them but to the Turks or the British; that they weren't doing anything with it, had not made the desert bloom nor drained the swamps, and above all, that they hate us, are raised to hate us, with a hate irrational, implacable, and unchangeable.

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I know what Israel meant during my childhood in the fifties, to my family still reeling in shock from the revelations of the gas chambers and the ovens, still searching for news of lost relatives. Israel was the restitution for all the losses of the Holocaust. It was the thing that restored some meaning and some hope into a world utterly shattered by evil. It was the proof that Jews were not just passive victims but actors on the screen of history, capable of fighting back, of taking charge of our own destiny. It was the one safe place, the refuge in a hostile world. And for some, it was the answer to the anguished question, "How can I believe in God in a world in which such things can happen?" To acknowledge the truth of what Israel is now doing is to face a grief so deep and overwhelming that it seems to suck away all hope, is to gasp again in the suffocation chambers, to cover our faces with the ashes from the ovens and know that there is no redemption, no silver lining, no happy ending, no good and noble thing that emerged



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That parallel is a dark mirror that reveals how easily we become what we most despise. If we look into it open eyed, we face truths so painful they make it hardly bearable to be human. For this is not just about Jews and Germans, Israelis and Palestinians, not about how any one people is prone to evil. It's about us all. The capacity for cruelty, for inflicting horrific harm, exists in us all. All we need is to feel threatened, and to let our fear define our enemy as less than fully human, and the horrors of hell are unleashed.

If we don't like the Nazi parallel, we must refuse to become Nazis. We must remember that the Nazis played on the German sense of deprivation and loss after World War One, and admit that our own real victimization has not elevated us to some realm of purity and eternal innocence. We can grow beyond the

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It is, on the one hand, incomprehensible to me that my friend could stand with such a regime, that the Jewish community as a whole, composed of people I know to be caring, compassionate and good, can stand behind the tanks, the bombs, the brutality.

On the other hand, I understand quite well the wrenching emotional journey that many Jews must make to admit the reality of what Israel is doing. For those of us who grew up saving our pennies to plant trees in the Galil, who, snowbound in blizzards, celebrated the New Year of the Trees timed to the blossoming of almonds in the Judean hills, who ended every Seder with the prayer "Next year in Jerusalem," no other issue is so painful and sad. I am a Jew who has spent her adult life as a voice for a different religion, a blatant Pagan whose spirituality is attuned to the Goddess of regeneration, not the God of my fathers. To Orthodox Jews, I'm a heretic, which gives me a certain freedom to say what I think. I was born into, raised in and acculturated by the post-war Jewish community, but I have not been immersed in that world for many years. I speak from the

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"Don't make the Nazi connection," a Jewish peace group warns. "It only feeds the right wing."

And yet the Nazi connection begs to be made.

It is true that the Israelis have not built extermination camps. It is true, although not immediately relevant, that other people in the world besides Jews have done and are doing bad things. Other atrocities occur daily. But it is also true that to attempt to erase a people, to destroy their culture, livelihood, and pride, is genocide.

A wan young woman, looking depressed, wanders through the Justice for Palestine rally, carrying a sign that says: "My father survived Auschwitz. His parents didn't. Orphaned, he fled to Israel."

Part of the horror of Jenin lies in her

father's new kinship to the teenaged boy dug alive out of the rubble of his house where his parents and brothers and sisters now lie dead.

That parallel is a dark mirror that reveals how easily we become what we most despise. If we look into it open eyed, we face truths so painful they make it hardly bearable to be human. For this is not just about Jews and Germans, Israelis and Palestinians, not about how any one people is prone to evil. It's about us all. The capacity for cruelty, for inflicting horrific harm, exists in us all. All we need is to feel threatened, and to let our fear define our enemy as less than fully human, and the horrors of hell are unleashed.

If we don't like the Nazi parallel, we must refuse to become Nazis. We must remember that the Nazis played on the German sense of deprivation and loss after World War One, and admit that our own real victimization has not elevated us to some realm of purity and eternal innocence. We can grow beyond the propaganda we were taught and the myths of our childhood and the comfort of our chosenness, and see the Palestinians as the full human beings that they are. Even if to do so seems to require us to walk out again into the wilderness with no outstretched hand nor hope of a promised land to guide us.

For if we admit the Palestinians' full humanity, if we admire their knowledge and appreciate their culture and cherish their children, then all the justifications of conquest fall away. No God, no superior virtue or inherent right, has granted us dominion. We have the land because we were able to take it.

And while that admission might seem to threaten Israel's very right to exist, it is not nearly as much of a threat as clinging to the justifications and rationalizations that prevent us from seeing the Other as human.

For full human beings placed in a situation of utter despair may turn to suicide bombs and retribution. Human beings, humiliated beyond bearing, may turn to revenge. But full human beings are not mindless agents of hate. Given

Palestine - UNDERSTANDING COMPREHENSIVE NIC

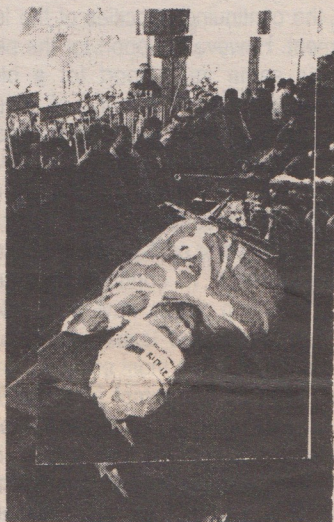
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hope and dignity and a future to live for, human
beings will tend to choose life. And full human
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made peace with.

The wilderness, the desert, has always been
the place where our people have heard the still,
small voice of God.

Religion is supposed to call us away from our
most brutal possibilities, to challenge us to act
from compassion and love. Right now in the
Middle East, religion is not doing its job.

I know well that to equate the actions of the
Israeli government with Judaism is to risk
feeding anti-Semitism and to erase the great
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that exists in the world Jewish community. And
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UNDERSTANDING THE DREAM COMPREHENDING THE NIGHTMARE



Allah the Merciful, or El Maleh Rahamim, God Who is Filled with Compassion. And if he chooses a people, he does it in the same spirit in which my partner confides to each of his four daughters that she is his favorite.

The current situation is a call both to God and to us to evolve. Judaism has always had within it a tradition of wrestling with God, as Jacob did with the angel, of arguing with God, as Abraham did when God wanted to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. To see God as fixed, eternally and unchangingly rigid is indeed to worship a graven image. Instead, we might see God as a dynamic process in which we are cocreators of the world we inhabit. We are actively engaged in shaping who God becomes.

We are commanded not to make images of God because our human imaginations are always limited and will reproduce our own faults and lacks and prejudices. God the General, God the Ruler, God the King, God the Distributor of Real Estate, God the Avenger, God of Holy War, God of Punishment, Retribution and Revenge, God Who Favors One People Above All Others, may in reality be that very idol, that truncated image, we are told to turn from. The worst heresy of all may be to limit our conception of the great force of compassion that underlies the world.

their supporters? Are they not in an even better position to change this situation?"

If the Israeli leadership were to abandon the idea that force will resolve this conflict in any positive way whatsoever, the solution becomes stunningly, obviously clear. Any mind not clouded by fear or hate or self-righteousness or utter religious certainty can see it in ten minutes of serious thought:

The Palestinians need their own state. And it needs to be a viable, coherent state with the potential for prosperity and beauty, not a Bantustan, not a few scraps of unwanted land the Israelis have decided to discard. A Palestine of milk and honey, of bread and roses, of the vine and the fig tree, of olive groves and red anemones, of health clinics and universities, of a new renaissance of Arabic culture, science, learning and art. Anything less will be an eternal festering sore, and there will be no peace.

An Israel that gave up the delusion that force will win all of Israel's demands while conceding the Palestinians nothing might recognize that a flourishing and happy Palestine would be Israel's best security measure, might even become her closest trading partner, best friend. Such a Palestine would offer its youth a better future than becoming human bombs. It is utterly in the best



hope and dignity and a future to live for, human beings will tend to choose life. And full human beings can be reasoned with, bargained with, made peace with.

The wilderness, the desert, has always been the place where our people have heard the still, small voice of God.

Religion is supposed to call us away from our most brutal possibilities, to challenge us to act from compassion and love. Right now in the Middle East, religion is not doing its job.

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Judaism can march lockstep with the Israeli authorities deeper into the domain of force. Israel could conceivably exterminate the Palestinians utterly, and that is the trend of the current policies. Nothing less will crush their aspirations for independence and

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I know well that to equate the actions of the Israeli government with Judaism is to risk feeding anti-Semitism and to erase the great spectrum of political and spiritual diversity that exists in the world Jewish community. And yet the question of Israel cannot be separated from Judaism. Our prayers for rain are timed to coincide with cloudbursts over the Sea of Galilee. We count the 'omer', the successive gathering in of the harvest from ancient fields bordering the Jordan. Fundamentalists Jews have established the contested settlements in the Occupied Territories and resist any



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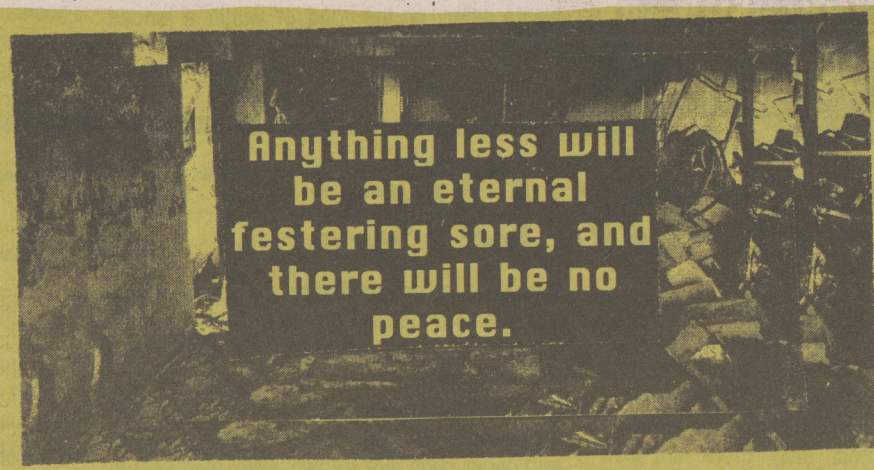
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The current crisis represents a great spiritual crisis within Judaism. I write as an admitted heretic, yet it's clear to me that the Orthodoxies of all three Great Religions, along with atheists, pragmatists and secularists of many political persuasions, are embroiled in a blasphemy that far outweighs any naked dancing around a bonfire. They are united in the worship of the God of Force.

The God of Force says that force is the ultimate answer to every dilemma, the resolution of every conflict, the 'only thing they understand.' The God of Force makes His appearances in the Old and New Testament, the Koran, and other sacred and secular scriptures. The God of Force licenses his agents to kill, unleashes the holy war, the jihad, the crusade, the inquisition. The God of Force says, "Go unto the land and kill all the inhabitants thereof." Now, I'm a polytheist. I recognize many Powers, many constellations of energies and forces in the universe, that arise from a deep interconnectedness and unity but have their own flavors, characters and names. One advantage of being a polytheist is that you can choose your gods or goddesses, acknowledging that bloodthirsty and cruel powers exist, but turning resolutely away from them. When God tells you to commit some horrific atrocity, you have somewhere to go for a second opinion. But monotheism is, of course, the heart and essence of Judaism as it is of Islam and Christianity. I submit that the God of Force is incompatible with the oneness of God. For if God is one, s/he must by definition be God of All, not of any one people exclusively. He cannot simultaneously encourage callousness and cruelty and be Christ the God of Love,

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freedom. A Jewish community that supported that final solution would lose its soul and any claim to moral authority. An Israel that carried out the genocide would be no fit homeland for any person of conscience. The dream of Israel would become an utter and complete horror show. And genocide would not bring security to Israel: it would simply inflame the hatred of the entire Arab world and jettison the rest of the world's support. Given all the nuclear weapons floating around in the Middle East, that road is likely to lead straight to the fulfillment of Christian prophecies of apocalypse.

One of the agonies in the current crisis is that nobody seems to have much hope or vision of how to resolve it. We can see where the road leads, but we don't know how to step off of it.

"If only the Palestinians would practice nonviolence, embrace the principles of Gandhi and King," I hear from some of my Jewish allies. Of course, there are Palestinians, and Israelis, and many others who have stepped forward to be a nonviolent presence in refugee camps, who have accompanied ambulances and attempted to deliver medical supplies, who have written their own eyewitness accounts and spoken their truth. But I find myself thinking "Wouldn't it be quicker if Gandhi or King reappeared among the Israeli leadership and

moment, consider the friendly relations between the U.S. and our former deadly enemies, Germany and Japan. Those who love and care for Israel need to stand with her true interests now, by demanding an end to the occupation, the dismantling of the settlements, by calling for the intervention of a neutral peacekeeping force, and by pressuring the United States government to stop covertly supporting and funding Israeli aggression.

The grip of the God of Force is strong, so strong that even though we can clearly see what the solution might be, we may despair at actually bringing it about. To pry that grip loose, we need to use all the tools of political activism, from writing letters and making phone calls to demonstrating, doing nonviolent civil disobedience, or even joining the peace witnesses on the front lines.

On a spiritual level, we can look into the dark mirror that reveals our own prejudices and reject them. We can believe that the force of intelligent, embodied love, as feminist theologian Carol Christ describes the Goddess, is indeed stronger than stupid, disembodied hate.

One last Pagan heresy is the belief that we can prod a sluggish God into producing a miracle or two, by performing an action with conscious, focused intention.

So, as a spell for peace, make peace with someone you think you can't make peace with. Notice what resistance arises even at the thought, how you build your case against your enemy, how you marshal your allies and ready your weapons. Note what it takes to give them up, what you must sacrifice and what you gain.

Maybe, in this process, we can all learn something. Maybe we can begin a turning, a transformation that will leave the God of Force starved of his blood sacrifices and burnt offerings, and feed gentler fruit to a kinder God. So that the children of Israel and Palestine can both grow up to enrich the land not by the blood of corpses but by the songs of poets, the works of artists, the healing of doctors, the fruit of farmers, the knowledge of teachers, the wisdom of mystics. And this corner of land, battleground for so many years, might become for all people a place of refuge, vision and hope. www.starhawk.org



Yucca Mountain:

By Xariq Nerdcore

After 2 decades of research, the US Department of Energy (DOE) is applying for a permit to build the world's first high level nuclear waste dump. The proposed dump, at Yucca Mountain, 90 miles NW of Las Vegas, is more controversial than ever; even the US government's General Accounting Office opined that the site research is flimsy.

The rush to start building is not motivated by public safety, but by corporate greed. The waste is fine, for the time being, in its current locations at reactors across the country. But with a pro-nuclear president in office, the nuclear industry is leaping at the first hint of an opportunity to build more reactors. And nobody is going to invest in new plants until there's some place to put the waste that's piling up at currently operating reactors.

Unfortunately, as progress on Yucca Mountain is delayed, the rapacious nuclear industry is privately hunting for other temporary waste storage options. A consortium of companies is trying to contract with the Skull Valley Goshute Tribe to store waste on their reservation in Utah. Yucca Mountain itself is Western Shoshone land that the government is trying to buy out from under them. Forget the bungled Yucca Mountain project: power plants and the communities and industries that use their power need to deal with their waste locally and boot out the insidious cop-out called the national sacrifice zone.

The most basic difficulty in designing a high-level radioactive waste dump is the extremely long period of time the waste stays dangerous to life: 10,000 years!! Using our reasonably well-developed knowledge of geology, we (humanity) can predict how parts of the earth will act over the next 10,000 year period. In terms of geologic time, 10,000 year

between the large model, secondary models, and lab and field experiments do not match up well enough, and scientists think the main model's data set is too small.

The DOE is attempting a "super-human task", and failing- both because the task is beyond humanity's current abilities, and because their motivations are in the wrong place. According to scientists who have worked on the project, research was done slowly and thoroughly during the first few years of the project. But in the early 1990's, the DOE, haunted by their now long-past 1998 deadline to begin accepting waste from power plants, began to rush.

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A thorough understanding of how radioactive waste would interact with the mountain's geology was too complicated a goal, they decided - so in order to meet (friendly) pressure put on by the nuclear industry, they changed the project focus. Their contractors would build a dump that relied not on the mountain itself to keep the waste contained, but on the design and materials of the dump itself. It is much easier to 'design' a potential problem away than to research the problem. For example, understanding how water behaves in the mountain and interacts with the waste is crucial to predicting dump performance, since water is the main way radioactive particles will be moved away from the dump. But after numerous conflicting estimates of how much water moves through the mountain, the DOE backed down and

whatever water is in the mountain won't touch the waste. But serious questions remain about how the 'drip shields' themselves will be affected by water over time; again, the DOE didn't do the research! Another missing piece is enough information on how the waste containers themselves will corrode in the presence of water - with or without the protection of the drip shields.

Details aside, the DOE's case doesn't look good on the macro scale, either. Human societies and their constructions exist on the scale of hundreds of years, not tens of thousands. Everything decays. Because we're confident in our knowledge of geology, the study of the earth, it is reasonable that we could attempt to understand and rely on a mountain, the earth itself, to take care of the waste. But depending on a humanly constructed dump doesn't make sense. Not to mention the inherent weakness of an extremely complex research project that was forced to change course within the last few years.

Why rush? Not because the waste is causing harm in its current state. Across the country, high-level nuclear waste sits at the power plants where it was generated, in storage pools and dry concrete casks. Both forms of temporary storage can be managed, monitored, and protected in the short term without any more harm done to the general public.

Bush, in his support for the Yucca Mountain dump, suggests that waste sitting scattered around the country means additional targets for terrorist attacks. But there's no logic behind this argument either. Used fuel from nuclear plants is still too radioactive, too hot, to move out of the plant, which is why the storage pools exist in the first place (the water shields some of the radiation). Spent



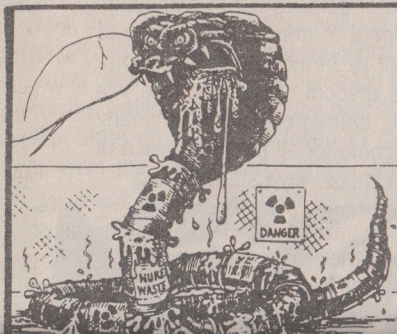
Even if the waste itself was magically transported to "safety", the highly radioactive plants themselves would still need to be dealt with. Does the DOE plan to build dumps to help utilities deal with decommissioned nuclear power plants? Even if they planned to, the project wouldn't happen for a long time. Follow the Netherlands' example and leave the waste where it is for at least the next 100 years.

OH! But with waste lingering on-site, power plants will quickly run out of storage room, the main motivation behind the push to build a dump at Yucca Mountain. The Bush administration is taking the catastrophic step of formally recommending the Yucca Mountain site because they are in league with the nuclear industry. Bush and Cheney have the first pro-nuclear energy policy in years. The nuclear industry is lobbying hard in favor of Yucca Mountain because they fear this may be their last chance. After years of disinterest,

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The most basic difficulty in designing a high-level radioactive waste dump is the extremely long period of time the waste stays dangerous to life: 10,000 years!! Using our reasonably well-developed knowledge of geology, we (humanity) can predict how parts of the earth will act over the next 10,000 year period. In terms of geologic time, 10,000 year is not very long. However, add radioactive waste to the puzzle, and the job of predicting what will happen becomes extremely complex. The whole earth is sitting around for geologists and chemists to study, extrapolating the future based on the present and the past. But there are no high-level nuclear dumps presently in existence to help researchers forecast how the darned thing will stand up to the test of time. Scientists use computer models to stretch the results of short-term radioactive waste experiments into the realms of geologic time. Of course, we won't be around to see if the models were right or not. The research is a gray matter of prediction, statistics, of "reasonable" degrees of safety, like when "safe sex" became "safer sex".



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Grow or Die: The Death of

By Squirrel

Capitalism and a healthy environment cannot coexist together because of the economic theory behind capitalism and it is consistent need for new frontiers of exploitation.

Environmental damage has reached alarming proportions. Almost daily there are new upwardly revised estimates of the severity of global warming, ozone destruction, topsoil loss, oxygen depletion from the clearing of rainforests, acid rain, dioxins in our body, pesticides residues in our food and water, the accelerating extinction rate of natural species, and so on. Or, as Kirkpatrick Sales puts it, "the planet is on the road to and perhaps on

the toll on the environment is staggering. When this cost is multiplied out over the lifespan of families, cities, and countries, the proportions are incredible.

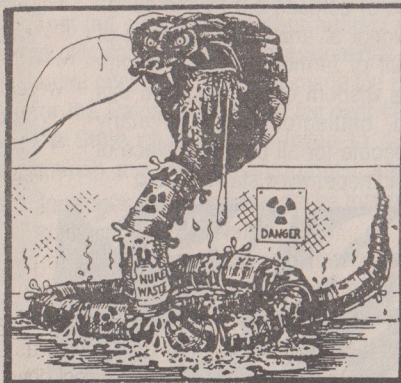
An example of wasted natural resources are the 200 Billion cans, bottles, plastic cartons, and paper cups, are thrown away each year in the "developed" world. Corporate production

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Capitalism must be eliminated because it cannot reform itself to become "environmentally friendly", despite what many green individuals believe. One might more easily persuade a green plant to desist from photosynthesis than to ask the bourgeois economy to desist from capital accumulation.

Industrial production has increased fifty fold since 1950. Since capitalist corporations must continuously grow and expand, it can only mean disastrous consequences in a finite environment. Therefore, it is not practical to look for a solution to the ecological dilemma within the workings of capitalism, because

what will happen becomes extremely complex. The whole earth is sitting around for geologists and chemists to study, extrapolating the future based on the present and the past. But there are no high-level nuclear dumps presently in existence to help researchers forecast how the darned thing will stand up to the test of time. Scientists use computer models to stretch the results of short-term radioactive waste experiments into the realms of geologic time. Of course, we won't be around to see if the models were right or not. The research is a gray matter of prediction, statistics, of "reasonable" degrees of safety, like when "safe sex" became "safer sex".



But there are major critiques of the research process the Department of Energy (DOE) is using to determine the "reasonable safety" of a dump at Yucca Mountain. Whenever science and regulatory issues intersect, there's high potential for scientific propaganda. Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham said his recommendation to President Bush in favor of the site was based on "sound science." Science that sounded good to whom? Not to three inertia-bound Washington regulatory agencies, including the General Accounting Office, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (responsible for licensing the repository), and an "independent" federal reviewer of nuclear waste disposal, the Nuclear Waste Technical Review Board, all three of which expressed substantial concerns. Scientists not directly affiliated with the government echoed the doubt. Respected researchers suggest that the DOE relies too heavily on one complex computer model, instead of using a number of smaller, more focused models. Results



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So how have we reached this point of almost ecological disaster? Many anarchists view the ecological crisis as rooted in the psychology of domination that emerged with the rise of patriarchy. Over time as these institutions took form and social domination became commonplace, these ideals were carried over into humanity's role with Nature. The patriarchal belief system places higher value on linear, mechanistic, analytical, and rational qualities. Under patriarchy the intuitive, emotional, anarchic, and earthy are negatively perceived as passive, weak and irrational within patriarchy. Within the realms of this definition, nature became increasingly regarded as a mere resource, an object exploited and ruthlessly enslaved.

Capitalism is the vehicle through which this psychology of domination finds its most ecologically destructive outlet. Capitalism causes the wasteful use of energy and material far beyond that needed for everyday living at a comfortable level. When one adds up all the raw materials and energy that go into the goods and services consumed over a lifetime,

the toll on the environment is staggering. When this cost is multiplied out over the lifespan of families, cities, and countries, the proportions are incredible.

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focuses on "disposable" items rather than on quality or reliability; products are made for a one-time use because it ensures greater profits.

Many eco-anarchists give the highest priority to dismantling capitalism. Bookchin states that capitalism "in its endless devouring of nature will reduce the entire biosphere to the fragile simplicity of our desert and arctic biomes. We will be reversing the process of organic evolution, which has differentiated flora and fauna into increasingly complex forms and relationships, thereby creating a simpler and less stable world of life. The consequences of this

appalling regression are predictable enough in the long run -- the biosphere will become so fragile that it will eventually collapse from the standpoint human survival needs and remove the organic preconditions for human life."

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look for a solution to the ecological dilemma within the workings of capitalism, because "grow or die" is inherent in its nature.

What is the principle of grow or die?

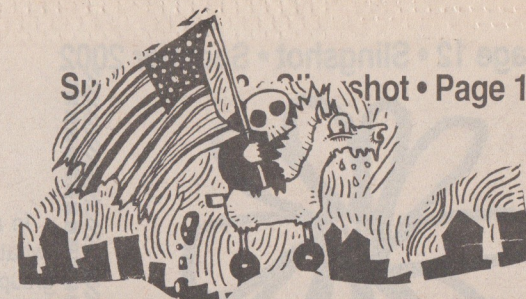
Capitalism is based on production for

patriarchy gives



Hot and Bothered

Sun shot • Page 11



Enter Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham, who accepted a large amount of money from the industry during his failed run for senator in 2000. Abraham responded to industry anxiety by giving the Yucca Mountain site his stamp of approval in February 2002. Bush reviewed Abraham's recommendation, in which Abraham said the Yucca Mountain plan is based on "sound science", for a few hours before signing the recommendation and forwarding it to Congress. Nevada Governor Kenny Guinn promptly vetoed Bush's recommendation, a privilege set forth by 1982 waste disposal legislation. Congress then had 90 days to override the veto by a simple majority, which the House quickly did. The Senate vote must happen before late July. If the senate overrules the veto, the DOE then has 90 days to submit a construction license to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which has up to 4 years to okay the license before construction can begin.

public and private utilities, construction contractors, trucking and railroads, the Las Vegas-based gaming industry, Nevada tourism industries. Feeding off the propaganda fair are lobbyists, law firms, and advertising firms. Individuals - the general public - are but pawns in the game, opinions to be swayed by television commercials and billboards. They are merely one more letter added to the forces of committee power, traded legislation deals, campaign contributions, etc that determine a congressional vote. For example, the state of Nevada and the gaming industry are launching a last-ditch, \$5.5 million campaign against the dump, part of which takes form as anti-nuclear billboards in Washington and in selected states with important senators, including Vermont, home of Senate Environment Committee chair Jim Jeffords.

Now, in anticipation of the Senate vote, the nuclear industry is lining senators' pockets.



little space is left for individual input aside from their responses to industry-funded propaganda. If people wish to play the representational democracy game, probably the most compelling scenario is folks objecting to radioactive waste being transported through their local areas on the way to Nevada. This makes for a good populist story in Congress now, and later will be a good tactic for direct action if waste is actually to be moved. In fact, low-level and military radioactive waste is transported around the country on a regular basis.

Radical anti-nuclear activists have a good record opposing waste movement by blocking train tracks with their bodies; imagine if waste movement now were blocked in a message about Yucca Mountain. Radical anti-nuclear activists visit the Yucca Mountain site yearly for the Mother's Day peace march. But taking a stand against the Yucca Mountain dump outside of the congressional buffoonery

Laboratory, and to Bechtel Inc, one of the main contractors working on the Yucca Mountain site. Other nuclear waste contractors include the Flour Corporation, working on the DOE Hanford nuclear reservation in southwest Washington, the Washington Group working on the Savannah River waste processing plant, and Jacobs Engineering working at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in eastern Tennessee.

The Yucca Mountain nuclear dump should not be built. But vitriolic public criticism must extend beyond Yucca Mountain; the whole nuclear industry is a stinking example of a gargantuan power play - literally and metaphorically - that has never intended to be based on local public input.

And if Yucca Mountain somehow evades the industry's grasp, the fist will fall elsewhere in an attempt to relieve the utilities of their waste burden. A consortium of 8 private utilities is negotiating with the Skull Valley

Even if the waste itself was magically transported to "safety", the highly radioactive plants themselves would still need to be dealt with.



Nuclear power is big power, and the debate on its manifestations takes place on a grand scale. Although Congress and the nuclear

According to Public Citizen, a contribution watch group, only 7 current senators have received no money from nuclear industry

the House quickly did. The Senate vote must happen before late July. If the senate overrules the veto, the DOE then has 90 days to submit a construction license to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which has up to 4 years to okay the license before construction can begin.



Nuclear power is big power, and the debate on its manifestations takes place on a grand scale. Although Congress and the nuclear power industry (actually the general public, through taxes and utility user fees) have poured large sums of money into researching Yucca Mountain, the scientific effort itself is a very small part of the charade. The game is based not on data sets and considered scientific opinion, but on lobby money. Behemoth industries weigh in with contributions: the nuclear industry, including

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Now, in anticipation of the Senate vote, the nuclear industry is lining senators' pockets.

According to Public Citizen, a contribution watch group, only 7 current senators have received no money from nuclear industry Political Action Committees (PACs). In 2002 alone, senators and a few leading senate candidates have taken \$1.3 million from nuke PACs. And of the 20 top recipients of nuke PAC money, 8 sit on the Senate Energy Committee and 6 on the Environment and Public Works Committee, both key committees dealing with nuclear power.

A monumental decision is being made and

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Radical anti-nuclear activists have a good record opposing waste movement by blocking train tracks with their bodies; imagine if waste movement now were blocked in a message about Yucca Mountain. Radical anti-nuclear activists visit the Yucca Mountain site yearly for the Mother's Day peace march. But taking a stand against the Yucca Mountain dump outside of the congressional buffoonery doesn't have to mean shipping yourself to Las Vegas. Nuclear installations and, consequently, good targets for direct action exist all around the country. Civilian commercial power plants are concentrated on the east coast and in Illinois, with scattered plants along the west coast. The San Francisco Bay Area is home to two DOE laboratories doing major work on the Yucca Mountain project, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Lawrence Berkeley

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Goshute tribe to build a temporary storage facility on their reservation. Surrounded by a chemical and biological weapons test facility, a nerve gas storage facility and incinerator, a polluting coal power plant, and a low-level radioactive waste dump, the Skull Valley reservation is already surrounded by the epitome of a national sacrifice zone. The tribe website states they can make money no other way and so have agreed to store the waste. Construction has been delayed because the State of Utah is objecting to the high-level waste storage. Can this waste, perceived to be too dangerous for the communities in which it is produced, acceptably be stored on native peoples' land? No! The waste should stay where it is, at the power plants that used it to generate power, in the locale where the power was consumed. The process of localizing control of our communities and lives includes taking on the responsibility of dealing with the waste in our communities - even if "we" weren't in favor of the process that produced the waste. People screaming NOT IN MY BACKYARD should consider the repulsive alternative of furthering the doctrine of the national sacrifice zone. Storing waste at existing power plants - and eventually forcing the plants to shut down as they run out of storage space - is unlikely to cause additional

the Earth By Capitalism

profit. In order to stay profitable, a firm must be able to produce goods and services cheaply enough to compete with other firms in the same industry. If one firm increases its productivity (as all firms must try to do), it will be able to produce more cheaply, thus undercutting its competition and gaining more market share, until eventually it forces less lucrative firms into bankruptcy. Moreover, as companies with higher productivity/profitability expand, they often realize economies of scale (e.g. getting bulk rates on larger quantities of raw materials), thus giving them even more of a competitive

productivity, either by increasing the exploitation of workers (e.g. longer hours and/or more intense work for the same amount of pay) or by introducing new technologies that reduce the amount of labor necessary to produce the same product or service. Due to the struggle of workers to prevent increases in the level of their exploitation, new technologies are the main way that productivity is increased under capitalism (though of course capitalists are always looking for ways to increase the exploitation of workers on a given technology by other means as well).



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the Earth By Capitalism

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There are two ways to increase

productivity, either by increasing the exploitation of workers (e.g. longer hours and/or more intense work for the same amount of pay) or by introducing new technologies that reduce the amount of labor necessary to produce the same product or service. Due to the struggle of workers to prevent increases in the level of their exploitation, new technologies are the main way that productivity is increased under capitalism (though of course capitalists are always looking for ways to increase the exploitation of workers on a given technology by other means as well).

But new technologies are expensive, which means that in order to pay for continuous upgrades, a firm must continually sell more of what it produces, and so must keep expanding its capital (machinery, floor space, workers, etc.). Indeed, to stay in the same place under capitalism is to tempt crisis - thus a firm must always strive for more profits and thus must always expand and invest. In other words, in order to survive, a firm must constantly expand and upgrade its capital and production levels so it can sell enough to keep expanding and upgrading its capital -- i.e. "grow or die," or "production for the sake of production."

Thus, it is impossible in principle for capitalism to solve the ecological crisis, because "grow or die" is inherent in its nature.

As long as capitalism exists, it will necessarily continue its "endless devouring of nature," until it removes the "organic preconditions for human life." We do not have to wait until after the revolution to save the earth. Saving the earth is the revolution.



birth to death



Good Books to Read:

Morris, Brian. *Ecology and Anarchism: Essays and Reviews on Contemporary Thought*, Images Publishing (Malvern) Ltd, Malvern Wells, 1996.

Bookchin, Murray, *Toward an Ecological Society*, Black Rose, Montreal, 1980.

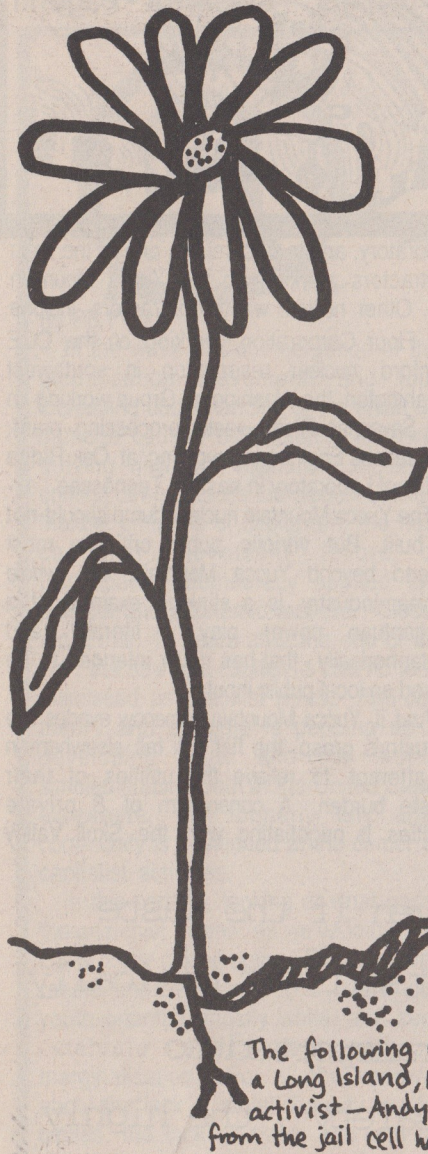
The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy, Cheshire Books, Palo Alto, California, 1982.

Which Way for the Ecology Movement? AK Press, Edinburgh/San Francisco, 1994.

The Philosophy of Social Ecology, Black Rose Books, Montreal/New York, 1990.



**KISS YOUR CHILDREN
GOOD-BYE.**



The following is a statement from a Long Island, NY animal rights activist - Andy Stepanian - writing from the jail cell he's unjustly imprisoned in!

I spent most of the morning curled over, sick to my stomach from my meal, (or lack there of) of pickled cabbage I ate last night. Here in jail you lose many of the things you take for granted in the outside world. Here happiness is as rare a commodity as natural light. To see the sky out the jail's West window you must kneel down and look past 5 stories of concrete before you can get a glimpse of blue. In here you cannot see any vegetation, no trees, no

In a further attempt to answer the question "what will the anarchist society look like", a group of anarchist model railroad enthusiasts in Berkeley propose to construct a HO scale trainset that would model a potential future society. The Rail Against the Machine Collective is seeking suggestions from the anarchist community at large as to the composition of the model world. They're also looking for folks in the East Bay area with

modeling skills who are interested in working on the trainset in a Berkeley basement space. The set would run on solar electricity, provided the anarchist modelers decide a future society would even need trains.

"We haven't decided yet whether to model a primitivist future or a syndicalist one," said collective member Casey Jones. "If the trainset is primitivist, there wouldn't be trains or even houses. We would just model hills and creeks with lots of trees and wildlife and perhaps a few scantily clad humans. If the trainset is syndicalist, all the railroads would be run by the One Big Union. Would they run on time? Who knows? We do know that the

train stations would have to be extra large to accommodate a lot of meetings."

Dinah Wonchablo, another trainset-ista, imagined a trainset with minimal passenger service run by model solar panels. There would be no roads or cars, but tiny bike paths would connect co-housing settlements built in circles around shared backyard spaces. Each settlement would have a tool lending library, cooperative childcare, un-schools, herbal health clinics and farming plots. "And since we want to model the future Northern California region, each settlement would have a shared hottub, clothing optional!" exclaimed Dinah.

Send in your ideas for the anarchist trainset design by sending a drawing, urban design plan, or short essay. The best entry will win 4 2003 *Slingshot* Organizers. Please send your ideas to Wacky Slingshot Contest - Trainset, 3124 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94705.

By the Alchemist of Wackery

Cracking the Concrete

at the dandelion a family in Hondouras endures far worse conditions making clothing garments in a starvation wage sweatshop. This family, is just one of thousands, guilty of no wrong doing, who are prisoners forever indebted to their employer. They do not run for fear their children will starve, they do not organize for fear of being lynched by union busters. These families are prisoners, slave laborers to

goals. I know that anyone who may read this is another person capable of bettering the world if they apply themselves.

Today's current affairs of activist repression make us all feel like weeds beneath six inches of pavement, their repression is their attempt to suffocate our struggles for liberation. Our actions serve to break through the pavement they have laid down so we may breach surface. Once there, we may begin to sow the seeds of compassion and grow more

Book Review

The Battle of Seattle:

The New Challenge to
Capitalist Globalization

Edited by Eddie Yuen, George Katiaficas,
and Daniel Burton Rose - Soft Skull
Press

The Battle of Seattle is a collection of articles, written by a myriad of authors concerning the WTO protests in 1999. However, these pieces are not devoted exclusively to Seattle and the WTO. The articles cover the recent presidential conventions, thoughts about globalization and capitalism, police brutality against protesters, NGOs and their roles, protests in other places

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The following is a statement from a Long Island, NY animal rights activist—Andy Stepanian—writing from the jail cell he's unjustly imprisoned in!

I spent most of the morning curled over, sick to my stomach from my meal, (or lack there of) of pickled cabbage I ate last night. Here in jail you lose many of the things you take for granted in the outside world. Here happiness is as rare a commodity as natural light. To see the sky out the jail's West window you must kneel down and look past 5 stories of concrete before you can get a glimpse of blue. In here you cannot see any vegetation, no trees, no flowers, no grass, just concrete, steel, and 50 or so heartbroken men that inhabit this unit.

I write this as a prisoner to my convictions, my personal ideological convictions, not my criminal convictions. My alleged charge of Obstruction of Governmental Administration is almost always a charge that does not carry any jail sentence, and is an amorphous charge given to political protestors when other charges cannot fit the prosecutable jigsaw puzzle. Upon my sentencing I was told by the judge that I participate in a level of activism not welcomed in our society, and due to this participation, particularly in the SHAC campaign, I was given the maximum sentence.

It is very hard to write this statement to my sisters and brothers in the struggle for liberation, and not feel heartbroken. In writing this I have to rehash many moments I have tried hard to repress, particularly being beaten and hospitalized at the hands of detectives Rotherwill and Barrone of the Garden City Police. My stomach sours when I think that it is I and not them who sits in jail. At times I feel myself question my optimism, question if in fact I can take any more of this, I question if my spirit and mind has the strength to keep pushing the envelope onward, and each day my

at the dandelion a family in Hondouras endures far worse conditions making clothing garments in a starvation wage sweatshop. This family, is just one of thousands, guilty of no wrong doing, who are prisoners forever indebted to their employer. They do not run for fear their children will starve, they do not organize for fear of being lynched by union busters. These families are prisoners, slave laborers to capitalism.

While I stare at this dandelion the entire natural environment is being pillaged by capitalism. All life is being commodified, every resource, every plant, every animal, every humyn, the earth itself is an organism and global capital is consuming its very organs - eating the fragile biomes that pump life to larger ecosystems.

While I stare at this dandelion countless animals are held prisoner to capitalism, are tortured, enslaved, and murdered for profit.

Huntingdon Life Sciences is a prime example of capitalism's wrath on the animal nations. As I

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write this, 70,000 animals are listlessly

goals. I know that anyone who may read this is another person capable of bettering the world if they apply themselves.

Today's current affairs of activist repression make us all feel like weeds beneath six inches of pavement, their repression is their attempt to suffocate our struggles for liberation. Our actions serve to break through the pavement they have laid down so we may breach surface. Once there, we may begin to sow the seeds of compassion and grow more crops through the broken preforations of pavement, much like the dandelion has. With time the lone weed can transform the black sea of pavement into a flowering garden.

Our actions breach the pavement and lead us towards liberation, but without action we will remain trapped under the pavement. Too often people are concerned about leaving their "comfort zone", when taking actions, but in order for there to be progress we must learn to feel uncomfortable with the things we do. A diversity of tactics will help our struggle advance and crumble this sea of pavement. I would encourage everyone to step up their involvement two times. If you only feel comfortable writing letters, then attend a protest or rally, if you only feel comfortable attending demonstrations then take to the night and commit an act of non-violent economic sabotage or liberate an animal from torture.

Too often I speak to friends and comrades who are enraged with my jailing and have prioritized my imprisonment as an issue against which they must take action. Do not be enraged with my imprisonment, be enraged with the suffering in the world and take action against that suffering. I do not want to be viewed as a hero or a martyr to the movement,

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The book looks at the protests in Seattle and other protests worldwide under the auspices of leftist ideals. However, even with the leftist viewpoint, within it there are a wide array of opinions towards capitalism and globalization and how best to approach and confront it. This diversity of opinions on the subject makes the book interesting and keeps your attention, good thing because this book is over three hundred pages and anything too one-sided could leave the reader frustrated and uninterested. The Battle of Seattle is only one of the numerous books on the Seattle protests recently making it to the shelves, but like many of these books, it will surely help generate new converts to the anti-capitalist movement and with that, hopefully some new ideas as well.

Activist Jon

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It is very hard to write this statement to my sisters and brothers in the struggle for liberation, and not feel heartbroken. In writing this I have to rehash many moments I have tried hard to repress, particularly being beaten and hospitalized at the hands of detectives Rotherwill and Barrone of the Garden City Police. My stomach sours when I think that it is I and not them who sits in jail. At times I feel myself question my optimism, question if in fact I can take any more of this, I question if my spirit and mind has the strength to keep pushing the envelope onward, and each day my questions have answers. Those answers are always yes! Today's answer came as I looked out that same West window at the grey and black macadam and blacktop. The gray has been interrupted with a spot of green. With a closer look I can see that a dandelion has pushed its way upward through some 6 inches of pavement to greet the surface.

Dandelions and weeds have long been labeled the vermin of plant species, much like mice and rodents have been perceived as pests. Humans take measures to eradicate these species from their urban settings, weed killers, rat poisons, etc. Yet how come the humans never win? Where does their resilience come from? As I look at this dandelion I am amazed that it had found this flaw in the pavement, pushed with all its life upward, through the crack and towards the surface. I am amazed that it can live in what it must perceive to be an ocean of pavement, cold and devoid of life, nothing but black and gray. With the dandelions growth the crack will grow bigger and the seeds it will sow will yield a bloom of more.

See that dandelion prosper in such harsh elements, makes me realize that my current situation in jail pales in comparison. While I look

at this dandelion I am reminded, every resource, every plant, every animal, every humyn, the earth itself is an organism and global capital is consuming its very organs - eating the fragile biomes that pump life to larger ecosystems.

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write this, 70,000 animals are listlessly confined to cages, wading in puddles of their own blood and vomit, no heat or enrichment, inadequate food and water, and no anesthetics to quell their immense pain and suffering. All of these atrocities make up the reality for an animal imprisoned at HLS, a reality all in the name of toxicology and biotech testing.

When I see the suffering that capitalism inflicts on our worlds peoples, its enrichment and its animals I see that in comparison I am very lucky. My jailing will not serve to deter my resistance to suffering, nor will it deter our movements resolve to abolish suffering.

When I visualize a beagle at HLS, the beautiful and docile creature she is, the immense pain and suffering in her expression or behind her eyes, or in the way she cries out to deaf ears when in pain, I realize that for me jail is a fucking joke. Jail is nothing more than a hurdle in my struggle for liberation, and I will exit here this summer with a resolve ten times as strong as before to battle HLS, that is if they are lucky enough to remain open that long. That dandelion has taught me a valuable lesson. Never doubt the power one individual can have to conquer what appears to be unimaginable

of pavement into a flowering garden.

Our actions breach the pavement and lead us towards liberation, but without action we will remain trapped under the pavement. Too often people are concerned about leaving their "comfort zone", when taking actions, but in order for there to be progress we must learn to feel uncomfortable with the things we do. A diversity of tactics will help our struggle advance and crumble this sea of pavement. I would encourage everyone to step up their involvement two times. If you only feel comfortable writing letters, then attend a protest or rally, if you only feel comfortable attending demonstrations then take to the night and commit an act of non-violent economic sabotage or liberate an animal from torture.

Too often I speak to friends and comrades who are enraged with my jailing and have prioritized my imprisonment as an issue against which they must take action. Do not be enraged with my imprisonment, be enraged with the suffering in the world and take action against that suffering. I do not want to be viewed as a hero or a martyr to the movement, but rather as a regular kid who wants very much to accomplish his goals. Each night before I fall asleep I think of my heroes, the people who give me the strength to take on another day in jail. The Plowshares, the Black Panthers, Mumia Abu Jamal and the brothers and sisters of Move, Harriet Tubman, Nelson Mandela, the masked crusaders of the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front, the activists who penetrated HLS on April 1st 2001 and rescued 14 beagles, SHAC, the MTC, Anti-Capitalist Convergence, the ADL, my best friend, and my beloved girlfriend, and most of all the heroes who broke into Marshal Farms delivering thirty pups and ten ferrets to freedom; they are all my heroes, they by their very existence are acting to tear apart the vast dead sea of pavement, to sow the seeds of compassion and cultivate the garden of a better tomorrow.

Love, Andy Stepanian.

You can write to Andy at: Andrew Stepanian B1A1, NCC 0200 1777, C/O Nassau County Corrections, 100 Carman Avenue, East Meadow, NY 11554-1160. Check out www.freeandy.org for more information!

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Activist Jon Batchelor freed from prison

Seattle animal rights activist Jon Batchelor is free after 94 days in the Fairfax Co, VA jail! His felony charges from actions at an animal rights demonstration, carrying a possible sentence of 10 years, were dropped. He was found guilty on a misdemeanor charge of assault and fined \$2,700, bringing his total expenses to \$14,000. He still needs our support paying off the bullshit.

During the demo, he 'unarrested' a woman from a suspected undercover cop. The cops apparently got his name from undercovers at the demonstration, and he was arrested on the warrant months later in Seattle, WA. His trial was fraught with state repression: a metal detector was set up, somebody reported seeing a sniper on an adjacent building, and a van of supporters was harassed by police.

Send contributions to: Jon Batchelor, 5208 Heather Dr, Anacortes, WA 98221. JONfromNOWon@yahoo.com

**PLEASE
DESTROY**

**CELL
PHONES**

**BEFORE
ENTERING**



By Lu Dite

When I tell people I hate cell phones, they generally respond with wide eyes, asking me why. With passion, they describe the ways cell phones have made their lives so much better. "They are so convenient." "I'm never at home, this way people can reach me." "I have it in case of an emergency." I have heard them all. My first response is maybe you should spend some more time at home, or appreciate the time when you can't be reached as your time uninterrupted. Or if it's only for emergencies, why are you always on it? I personally cherish the times I cannot be reached as time just for me. I think about the supposed convenience, which is paid for by giving up some of the best things humans have going for us, not to mention the exploitation of resources, poor folks and animals.

Col-tan (columbite tantalite) is a mineral essential for the manufacture of cell phones. Companies in the US pay from \$100 - \$200,000 a ton for it, depending on the market. Col-tan is plentiful in the Congo in Africa, where it is a major source of potential income for the local population. Different factions involved in a long-running war in the Congo fight to control mines so they can use col-tan profits to buy weapons. Thus, the U.S. demand for col-tan fans the flames of a conflict that has been plaguing the Congo. Impoverished and hungry Congolese miners, removed from their homes and usual food sources to work in the mines, have been slaughtering and eating elephants and gorillas who happen to live around the mines. It's the same story of the US exploiting a poor country

United States to have convenience. It is about speed and accessibility and profit, and to hell with the rest.

But cell phones aren't just problematic socially and environmentally — they're degrading our very nature, our culture and our communities. Cell phones don't always work. People become dependent on a believed sense of security. Many people seem to believe that



nothing bad can really happen if they have this little device, but it ain't so. Cell phones do likely get people out of a jam here and there, but we have to remember that babies were born and people found the house they were trying to visit, or got help when the car broke down, before this invention. Somehow we made it through without them. Cell phones may get some people out of a difficult spot, but so have good sense or the kindness of another person.

Who will be better off if we lose those things in ourselves? Cell phones only serve to separate us (humans) more. How small would your world be if you never met any strangers? What if you didn't have to ask for directions on the street or at a corner market. Who might have you missed out on meeting? If we lose our ability to be creative solution finders, what happens when the cell phone goes kerplooeey. What happens to our sense of security and autonomy if it's all based on a piece of technology, and the hope that it will work?

don't talk to the person they stand in line with, instead they exhibit potentially schizophrenic tendencies, looking like they are talking to themselves until you see the petroleum/col-tan appendage stuck to their heads. I even witnessed an outrageously obnoxious man telling his phone companion how awful and stupid the service was right in front of the poor clerk making minimum wage ringing him up. My friend who just returned from a lovely hot springs visit told me about the person who sat in the hot spring in the wilderness talking on the blasted thing. Arrogant! Obnoxious! Is consideration out the door with creativity and adventure and good sense? We are in trouble!

The phone companies are in on the scam too. Has anyone noticed pay phones disappearing, or the price now at 50 cents. (You notice if you don't have a cell phone!) I know that people of all classes have cell phones, but there are those who can't afford them (besides those of



us who just choose not to). What do we do? I've heard tale of walking block after block in search of a pay phone, to no avail

This appears to be another front in the war against the poor. The best reason I can think of to have a cell phone is if you do not have a home. Cell phones could be a great boon to the grueling homeless life of travel from line to line to reach people when you can't be

accidents and brain cancer in my tirade. The research I did showed that neither risk is proven, although one study did say that mice couldn't find their way out of a tank of water onto a ladder when they were surrounded by cell phone frequencies. I don't need those reasons to hate cell phones, but they could make it on someone's list.

Let me recap here what we are potentially giving up for this so called convenience: good sense, kindness, adventure, problem solving skills, connection, Congolese, gorillas, elephants, the ability to have solitude, real security as opposed to imagined.

And this may be the clincher: I read an article that says there has been a drastic decrease in ghost sightings over the last 15 years, where there had been a fairly constant number for the last several hundred years. This decrease is associated with the increase in electromagnetic activity of our technological utopia. So after all of this, are we going to give up our connection to the dead as well? I don't see how any of it is worth the convenience.

Sometimes I go too far with this cell phone thing. I've thrown people out of my house and my room for using them. As a high school teacher, I threaten to destroy them on a daily basis when I see them in my classroom. But I am serious when I say that cell phones are leading us down a path from which we may not recover. It's the same path that so many other "scientific breakthroughs" have put us on -- in a really personal and daily way, cell phones are undermining community. We're engaging in selective breeding -- several generations in the future, people will be less spontaneous, have a harder time making decisions, and have less common sense. Or maybe we'll just get cell



the times I cannot be reached as time just for me. I think about the supposed convenience, which is paid for by giving up some of the best things humans have going for us, not to mention the exploitation of resources, poor folks and animals.

Col-tan (columbite tantalite) is a mineral essential for the manufacture of cell phones. Companies in the US pay from \$100 - \$200,000 a ton for it, depending on the market. Col-tan is plentiful in the Congo in Africa, where it is a major source of potential income for the local population. Different factions involved in a long-running war in the Congo fight to control mines so they can use col-tan profits to buy weapons. Thus, the U.S. demand for col-tan fans the flames of a conflict that has been plaguing the Congo. Impoverished and hungry Congolese miners, removed from their homes and usual food sources to work in the mines, have been slaughtering and eating elephants and gorillas who happen to live around the mines. It's the same story of the US exploiting a poor country



that has the natural resources we want, to make us faster, bigger, stronger and more hungry for natural resources. The above summary is a very simplified version of the complexities of the Congo, but the truth is that people and animals are dying and land is being destroyed in order for people in the



nothing bad can really happen if they have this little device, but it ain't so. Cell phones do likely get people out of a jam here and there, but we have to remember that babies were born and people found the house they were trying to visit, or got help when the car broke down, before this invention. Somehow we made it through without them. Cell phones may get some people out of a difficult spot, but so have good sense or the kindness of another person.

Who will be better off if we lose those things in ourselves? Cell phones only serve to separate us (humans) more. How small would your world be if you never met any strangers? What if you didn't have to ask for directions on the street or at a corner market. Who might have you missed out on meeting? If we lose our ability to be creative solution finders, what happens when the cell phone goes kerplooeey. What happens to our sense of security and autonomy if it's all based on a piece of technology, and the hope that it will work? And what happens if the damn thing breaks and there aren't any pay phones left?

Having to figure out "how am I going to hook up with this person," actually stretches the mind. You used to have to think about it, invent a plan that would make your paths cross if you weren't at home. Now people don't prepare as much, and assume more. There is an expectation of immediacy, as if we have the right to reach any person whenever we want.

And whatever happened to talking to the person you are with? I can't even count the times I've observed one person sitting next to their companion, as their companion talks on the phone completely ignoring them. People

consideration out the door with creativity and adventure and good sense? We are in trouble!

The phone companies are in on the scam too. Has anyone noticed pay phones disappearing, or the price now at 50 cents. (You notice if you don't have a cell phone!) I know that people of all classes have cell phones, but there are those who can't afford them (besides those of



us who just choose not to). What do we do? I've heard tale of walking block after block in search of a pay phone, to no avail

This appears to be another front in the war against the poor. The best reason I can think of to have a cell phone is if you do not have a home. Cell phones could be a great boon to the grueling homeless life of travel from line to line, trying to reach people when you can't be reached, trying to find a job . . . But if you are homeless or poor and you don't have a cell phone (maybe your credit wasn't good enough) then how do you take care of business at 50 cents a pop? At least there are still some drop in centers with phones to help.

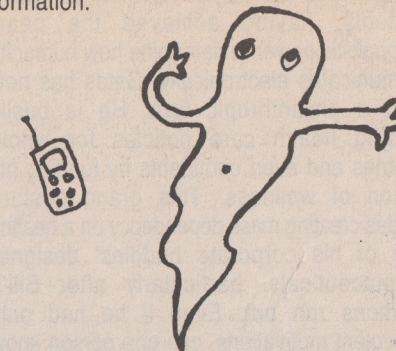
Clearly demand for pay phones has dropped. There are 600,000 fewer pay phones now than there were in 1998, and the US government believes there are over five and a half million households that have no regular telephone at all. Ouch, I see both of these figures getting worse.

You may notice that I haven't listed car

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General Assembly of FunTime



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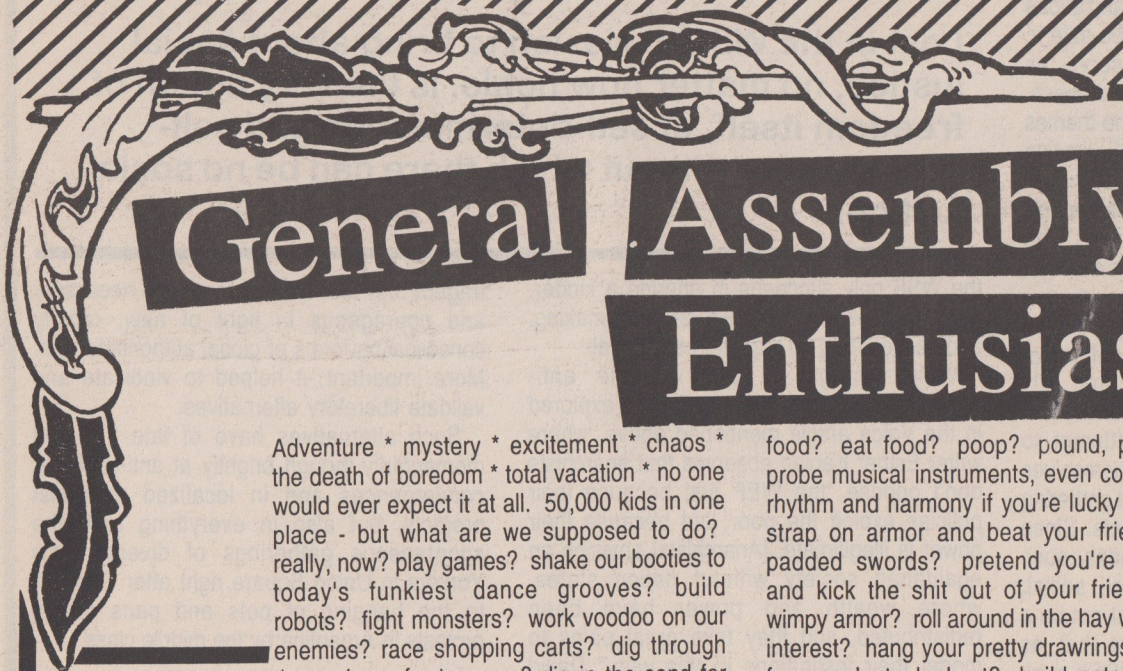
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information.



General Assembly of FunTime Enthusiasts!!!

Adventure * mystery * excitement * chaos * the death of boredom * total vacation * no one would ever expect it at all. 50,000 kids in one place - but what are we supposed to do? really, now? play games? shake our booties to today's funkier dance grooves? build robots? fight monsters? work voodoo on our enemies? race shopping carts? dig through the garbage for treasure? dig in the sand for china? dress up like silly lunatics and have normal folk stare at us? walk up to them, hellbent on making them be lunatics with us, or at least making them feel like boring assholes? make obstacle courses, mazes and funhouses? cut out stencils to beautify the city's walls and sidewalks? go trick-or-treating? fly kites? ride bikes? rock and roll? beat the innards out of pinatas? climb trees? slip and slide on wet, soapy sheets of plastic? juggle? explore the obscure corners of our environment? cook

food? eat food? poop? pound, pluck and probe musical instruments, even constructing rhythm and harmony if you're lucky enough? strap on armor and beat your friends with padded swords? pretend you're brad pitt and kick the shit out of your friends sans wimpy armor? roll around in the hay with a love interest? hang your pretty drawings on walls for people to look at? build catapults and other such weapons of mass destruction... i mean, innocent, fun toys? parade? watch movies made by crazy punk rockers and wierdos? fall in love? learn something useful or amusing or both or neither? generally live life like it mattered? oh yeah? that's nuts! yes! Yes!! YES!!! fucking seattle, late july 2002. be there or die of boredom, for surely. THE KIDS are going to do something. they're gonna have fun. but what is fun? it's what we're not supposed to have, it's treating the

city like it was ours, our own world of dance parties and war games, art shows on public walls and theater in the streets, rap videos come to life and mythical beasts rampaging through a city that should not be there. all it takes is some creativity, some energy, some not givin a fuck, and a shove to get the ball rolling. tell everyone you know. tell the kids you know who like fucking with people, tell the kids who aren't afraid of anything, tell the kids who wouldn't in a million years so much as dream of being boring, tell kids in bands, kids who make stencils, kids who're always telling you about a crazy idea they have, kids who will dance all night long and then walk all the way home telling you stories, kids with the fucking spirit of pippi longstocking & abbie hoffman. and send this shit around. haha! love you. chef jeffrey moominmonster footclan@ziplip.com nihil@bikerider.com

Another World Is Possible

Continued from page 3

political leaders, 250 academic leaders, 250 media leaders, along with a sprinkling of labor, social justice, and entertainment leaders. They are leaders not because an electorate or the public says so but by virtue of their wealth, influence, and power, and their farsightedness in being able to maintain all three. This ensures that those most adept at foreseeing where the globalizing world might go, and hence most able to engage in steering its course, will constitute the WEF's fluid and, if needed, easily rearranged membership (witness the summary disinvitation of Enron's Ken Lay). These privileged few are bound to neither space nor place, geography nor nation-state. They are accountable only to themselves, and when it serves their self-interests, each other. In the WEF's own words, this NGO "is tied to no political, partisan or national interests"

oriented counterweight to the WEF, the WSF first convened last year in Porto Alegre during the WEF's Davos session. This year, the Brazilian meeting again purposefully coincided with the WEF's. As a "forum for debate" for all who seek an "alternative to [the] neoliberal model," the WSF "brings together and interlinks . . . organizations and movements of civil society from all the countries of the world" along with "those in positions of political responsibility, mandated by their peoples, who decide to enter into the commitments resulting from those debates." Certainly, the WSF and those who participate in this alternate forum place "special value on all that society is building to centre economic activity and political action on meeting the needs of people and respecting nature," to again cite the WSF. And much-needed social

the WEF's. Whereas the WEF views everything through an economic lens, and is thus concerned with social issues insofar as they hinder economic growth, the WSF views everything through a social lens, and is thus concerned with economic issues insofar as they hinder social justice. The WEF, for instance, troubles itself over a lack of water, education, or transport in countries because these basic necessities serve as vital infrastructure for economic expansion. (Besides, the utterly destitute don't make particularly robust markets and can even get unruly.) Conversely, the WSF strives to reduce economic exploitation because it limits peoples' access to essentials like jobs, food, or housing. Socioeconomics, or more precisely capitalism, can therefore be utilized for opposite ends: in the WEF's eyes, it is good for business; in the WSF's, it can instead help bring about social justice. The WSF displays the best of aims: to meet human needs in a just manner. But because it accepts only those possibilities obtainable within a capitalist society (say, higher wages) rather than those that may be generated by but also dismantle present-day social relations (like the end of the wage system altogether), the other world that is possible is already circumscribed, already damaged.

If unaccountable, free-floating supranational bodies like the WEF and WSF prove themselves better able to determine "public" policy than so-called public servants elected in democratic republics, participation becomes even more meaningless (leading some to the

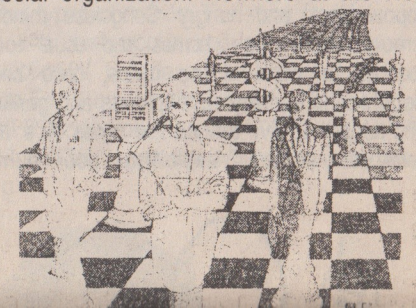
to be part of the more high-profile, safe WSF in Brazil, a variety of anti-authoritarians were handed the reigns of the U.S. direct action movement (re)birthed in Seattle. They became the main organizers and spokespersons for the pivotal NYC convergence. Thus, even the mainstream media were forced to cover anarchist beliefs and visions - which, of course, have been there all along - if they wanted to report on the convergence at all. So despite the usual demonizations in the corporate press (as in the case of another Voice article, titled "Law of the Fist," that basically labeled anarchists "Al Qaeda-like"), it became a fairly universal assertion that anarchism was openly opposed to capitalism and just as openly for direct democracy. This was especially so among the participants themselves. While for anti-authoritarians direct democracy can include everything from collectives and affinity groups to worker and/or neighborhood councils, acting in networks or confederations that keep power at the grass roots, most concur that self-governance must be part and parcel of present as well as future forms of social organization. Nowhere at the North

As NGOs and social justice activists bailed out of the WEF demonstrations from fear in the post Sept. 11 climate and/or the desire to be part of the more high-profile, safe WSF in Brazil, anti-authoritarians were handed the reigns of the U.S. direct action movement (re)birthed in Seattle.

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Take just one iconic participant: Bill Gates. Money can't be his only goal; for eight years, he's been the world's richest individual. More pointedly, having achieved the near-monopolistic power to determine how humanity communicates electronically, Gates has now taken a philanthropic turn. He is busily deciding health care policies for whole countries and even continents by funding his version of wellness. This grand gesture includes creating mass dependency on a healthy dose of his corporate buddies' designer pharmaceuticals, particularly after Bill's donations run out. Even if he had only benevolent motivations, can one person know what's best for billions of peoples' bodies? As radical feminists have long contended, control over one's body relates to self-determination and social freedom as well as health.

The "representative" democracy of many nation-states almost begins to look good by comparison, at least as a way to keep the WEF in check. But these same allegedly democratic countries, along with a host of blatantly undemocratic ones, are partners in and frequently under the sway of the WEF itself. Even at the tender age of three, the WEF could already claim in 1973 to have "grown from humble beginnings" to be "the leading interface for global business/government

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justice work has and will come out of the WSF's relatively (in comparison to other global gatherings) open meetings.

But wittingly or not, in trying to parallel the WEF's meetings as its alternative, the WSF ends up mimicking its hierarchical structure: a supranational, nongovernmental body that seeks to shape the global agenda, with no accountability to and far removed from those whose daily lives are affected. Like the WEF, the WSF offers an informal, fluid, and centralized networking environment for the globally influential — in this case, those in the "nonprofit" and "movement" sectors. Such influence on the world stage, as the WEF wells knows, can soon translate into a power that rivals or exceeds that of nation-states.

Once the WSF's annual meeting is seen as the premiere gathering of socially concerned leaders, which in two short years is already becoming apparent, its statements will carry extraordinary political weight and its "debates" will soon map out public policy. Big, bureaucratic NGOs will continue to flock to the WSF in ever-greater numbers; and unlike activists and community-based organizations operating on a shoestring, they will be able to attend meetings annually and serve as members of the organizing council in between. These NGOs, then, will largely set the themes and strategies discussed at the WSF, limiting from the start the concerns of grassroots groups and radical movements. Moreover, these NGOs have the financial and organizational resources to, at a minimum, lobby governments and corporations, who are

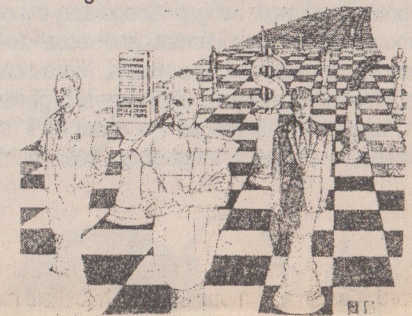
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If unaccountable, free-floating supranational bodies like the WEF and WSF prove themselves better able to determine "public" policy than so-called public servants elected in democratic republics, participation becomes even more meaningless (leading some to the regressive demand to strengthen nation-states). An influential few will have set themselves up as untouchable "leaders" more capable of knowing what's good for humanity than the vast majority of the world's peoples, who will be completely shut out of shaping the societies they want to live in. Indeed, eerily similar to the WEF's notion of a "corporate citizenship" voting on the allegedly better society, the WSF proposes a "planetary citizenship." Who, pray tell, would govern this global citizenry?

Lost in the WSF's mission to bring about social justice, no matter how noble, is the very notion of freedom itself, of self-determination and self-governance, without which there can be no social justice. Surely the possible world of the WSF would be far preferable to the WEF's. Yet in attempting to oppose the WEF,

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American convergences of the past few years has this been more palpable, more public.

Instead of signaling the death knell for resistance and reconstruction, New York's demonstration may just have "normalized" anti-authoritarians' notions of social and political contestation, whether one is an anarchist or not. The use of substantively participatory decision-making processes before and during the WEF convergence, while not perfect, were nonetheless able to settle on street tactics that were sensitive to the feelings generated by Sept. 11, especially in NYC, and hence thoughtfully somber and restrained. Though comparatively dull for the marchers, not to mention the media and police, this explicitly anti-capitalist event not only reasserted that resistance is permissible again after 9-11's

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The "representative" democracy of many nation-states almost begins to look good by comparison, at least as a way to keep the WEF in check. But these same allegedly democratic countries, along with a host of blatantly undemocratic ones, are partners in and frequently under the sway of the WEF itself. Even at the tender age of three, the WEF could already claim in 1973 to have "grown from humble beginnings" to be "the leading interface for global business/government interaction." Now in its yuppie prime, this NGO has developed its muscle by integrating countries "from those in Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa, to Eastern and Central Europe, Asia and even North America" into its institutional frame, often well ahead of the so-called international community. As the "premiere gathering of world leaders in business, government, and civil society," an autonomous supranational body such as the WEF looks to limit the power of nation-states, not vice versa, and increasingly has the clout to do so. This is the hazy yet ever-sharper organizational outline for a potential form of one-world, nongovernmental governance, where a handful of individuals judge right and wrong by the bottom line of buy-sell relationships, unimpeded by constituents, much less ethical considerations, cultural constraints, or even anti-capitalist convergences.

In this context, the WSF is held up as a promising candidate to stand against the WEF and campaign for a better world. Pulled together by eight NGOs as the socially

accountability to and far removed from those whose daily lives are affected. Like the WEF, the WSF offers an informal, fluid, and centralized networking environment for the globally influential — in this case, those in the "nonprofit" and "movement" sectors. Such influence on the world stage, as the WEF wells knows, can soon translate into a power that rivals or exceeds that of nation-states.

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As the WSF gains in global influence it will even be courted, as it already was this year, by the very entity it set out to challenge, the WEF, which is perhaps able to recognize a kindred spirit well before the rest of us. This may have something to do with the WSF's mission itself, in that it neatly inverts that of

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the WSF only succeeds in offering a kinder, gentler version of top-down decision making, and hence offers no real alternative at all.

Which brings us back to the anti-authoritarian "keepers of the flame" explored in the Voice article mentioned above, where writer Esther Kaplan observes that anarchists don't oppose "the WEF just because their policies exploit the poor, but because their power is illegitimate. [Anarchists] envision an egalitarian society without nation states, where wealth and power have been redistributed, and they take great pains to model their institutions in this vein." David Graeber echoes this in his recent *In These Times* piece: the anti-capitalist convergence during the WEF meeting held out "new forms of radically decentralized direct democracy [as] its ideology. If nothing else, the 'bad' protesters have managed to prove that they can do anything the (hierarchical) NGOs or unions can, probably much better."

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tragedy but that it is increasingly necessary and courageous in light of new, rapidly consolidating forms of global authoritarianism. More important, it helped to vindicate and validate liberatory alternatives.

Such alternatives have of late flickered momentarily though brightly at anti-capitalist convergences and in localized anarchist projects, but also in everything from the spontaneous gatherings of diverse New Yorkers in Union Square right after Sept. 11 to the banging of pots and pans during protests in Argentina by the middle class.

*This article was shortened from the original, which can be read at www.social-ecology.org/learn/library/milstein/wsf.html. Cindy is a faculty member at the Institute for Social Ecology (www.social-ecology.org), a board member for the Institute for Anarchist Studies (flag.blackened.net/ias), and a columnist for *Arsenal: A Magazine of Anarchist Strategy & Culture* (www.azone.org/arsenalmag). She can be reached at cbmilstein@aol.com.*

NarcoDollars and the Drug War

Now that George W. Bush and the Crypto Nazi Right have their non-congressional declared "War on Terrorism" in high gear, it is time to reflect thoughtfully on yet another of these republican presidents declared wars: the war on drugs, declared 30 years ago by Tricky Dick Nixon. The fact that according to the trashed US Constitution, Article I, Section 8, only Congress can declare war, has been usurped and rendered meaningless, the US constitution destroyed in order to save it, as the Republican mantra goes. When do these republican presidents declared wars end?

Since George W. Bush is also leading the Nixon-called War on Drugs, after the on-going

addiction is reciprocal. Just as Mexico and Columbia are hooked on narcodollars, the US is hooked on narcotics. Both are signs of the failure of community and republican presidents protection racket, a free service to drug cartels, aided and abetted by the CIA.

Surprisingly protected by Bush and the CIA, under the false flag of a war on drugs,



Mexico and Columbia have long been engaging in a form of internal market consolidation. Occasionally the two governments - and America - nab a kingpin, portraying the move as a great coup for the war on drugs, while clearing the way for better connected traffickers to take over their markets.

Freed from excessive competition, the cartels become more profitable. That boosts the economy as a whole, as narcodollars reap multiplier effects in banking and tourism, priming the economic pump.

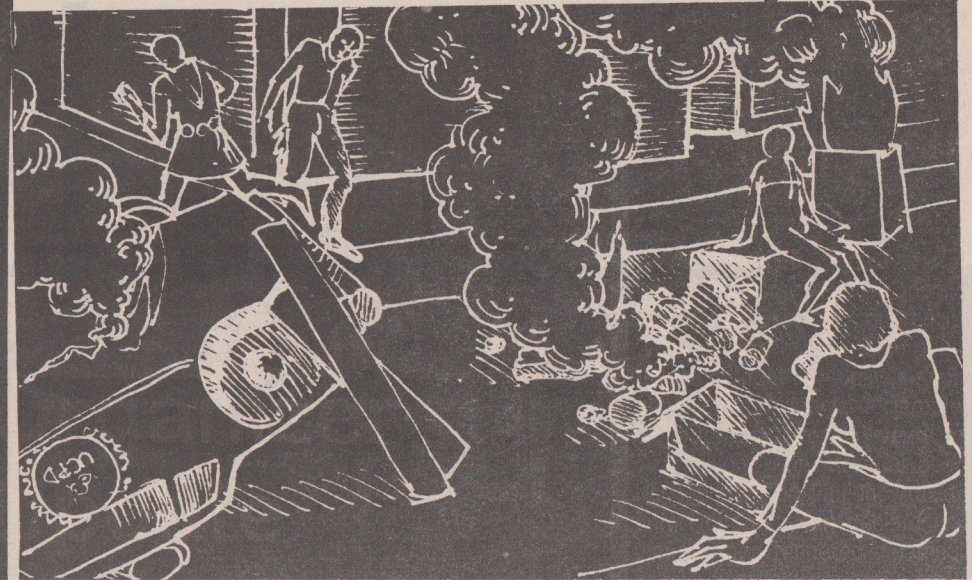
All of which brings greater tax revenue to the government. First, because laundered drug profits make their way into the formal economy, where they are taxed like any other income. Second, because the cartels that win the bidding war pay a substantial hidden tax to the government in bribes and payoffs that supplement the salaries of officials, including the police and the military.

Countries that want no part of this flim-flam sham drug war game- Cuba and Venezuela- knowing it is a protection racket for drug cartels, not as mysteriously find



30 years of war, it is time to take account of the real purpose of these republican presidents undeclared wars-excluding bush's much alleged drug use in his younger years. The illegal drug business lies at the heart of a great paradox. The narcotics cartels are by far the most successful enterprises in the international market.

Mexico's cartels alone yield an estimated \$30 billion to \$50 billion a year in hard currency from the U.S., dwarfing earnings from the export of oil and automotive assembly parts. This is one of the few major businesses whose ownership and management is CIA blessed, and the cartels owe their home-grown success to the United States and republican presidents. In the first place, because the US



The Ultimate Act of Solidarity

Continued from page 1

fight for our own liberation while helping others, too. Ultimately, using one's own first-world privilege to help the "other" is just the activist version of missionary work. For anarchists, its fraught with problems.

Freedom *Summer in our own lives* would mean *following our desires*. If everyone in their own communities started living like we wanted to live — refusing to participate in the 40-hour-a-week, industrialized, computerized, toxic, corporate, mediated, managed "life" shoved down our throats — this system would stop. If not everyone, but a lot of people, started living life like it mattered, the system would be knocked of balance, called into question, weakened. Armies would have to be recalled from overseas for service *here*. The US power to enforce capitalist hegemony world-wide and here at home would be shattered.

The idea of destabilizing life at home — of bringing the war home — is scary. It's a lot easier to go into an intense, violent, dangerous

world, nor real safety or freedom here.

It's a huge mistake to allow our agenda to be set in reaction to events elsewhere, losing sight of the big picture — the struggle for total liberation. Rather than reaction and defense, its time for offense. As the storm clouds of war against Iraq build, should we wait until the first tank crosses the boarder so that we can have a rowdy protest at the federal building the day *afterwards*? With reports daily confirming the precarious environmental situation resulting from unrestrained global corporate capitalism, should we wait for the announcement of each new timber harvest plan so that we may lay down before the bulldozers?

Its time to move beyond activism as a hobby, something separate from one's life that must be balanced against the rest of our lives — free time, relationships, enjoyment, creative work — something that is best applied to others rather than one's self, something that seeks out excitement and travel. What we seek



30 years of war, it is time to take account of the real purpose of these republican presidents undeclared wars-excluding bush's much alleged drug use in his younger years. The illegal drug business lies at the heart of a great paradox. The narcotics cartels are by far the most successful enterprises in the international market.

Mexico's cartels alone yield an estimated \$30 billion to \$50 billion a year in hard currency from the U.S., dwarfing earnings from the export of oil and automotive assembly parts. This is one of the few major businesses whose ownership and management is CIA blessed, and the cartels owe their home-grown success to the United States and republican presidents. In the first place, because the US provides an enormous and inexhaustible market for their pharmaceutical products. The sub rosa purpose of the republican presidents' declared "drug wars" is to protect criminal cartels.

Were narcotics legalized, tobacco and liquor companies, the legal purveyors of addictive chemicals, would rush in with lower prices and world-wide marketing and distribution, and the cartels would be out of business almost overnight. George W. Bush is the best friend illegal drug cartels have.

The sober truth is that the economics and economies of Mexico and Columbia would go into convulsions without the infusion of narcodollars, which are as important to them as petrodollars are to the Arabs. Both countries - and others too - are addicted to narcodollars. The unpleasant truth is that the

Mexico and Columbia have long been engaging in a form of internal market consolidation. Occasionally the two governments - and America- nab a kingpin, portraying the move as a great coup for the war on drugs, while clearing the way for better connected traffickers to take over their markets.

Freed from excessive competition, the cartels become more profitable. That boosts the economy as a whole, as narcodollars reap multiplier effects in banking and tourism, priming the economic pump.

All of which brings greater tax revenue to the government. First, because laundered drug profits make their way into the formal economy, where they are taxed like any other income. Second, because the cartels that win the bidding war pay a substantial hidden tax to the government in bribes and payoffs that supplement the salaries of officials, including the police and the military.

Countries that want no part of this flim- flam sham drug war game- Cuba and Venezuela- knowing it is a protection racket for drug cartels, not so mysteriously find themselves the subject of destabilizing acts from the US/CIA/pimps/proxies/puppets, and at the top of the bush administrations doo-doo list.

Sometimes you must turn a product upside down to read the label. If you turn the war on drugs upside down, you can readily see what's going on, and the exact same is true of other republican presidents declared wars: such as the war on terrorism, war on crime, ad nauseum. It's a pattern. A modus operandi. Based on part of Abe Lincoln's dictum: you can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time.

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Solidarity

Continued from page 1

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Freedom Summer in our own lives would mean following our desires. If everyone in their own communities started living like we wanted to live — refusing to participate in the 40-hour-a-week, industrialized, computerized, toxic, corporate, mediated, managed "life" shoved down our throats — this system would stop. If not everyone, but a lot of people, started living life like it mattered, the system would be knocked of balance, called into question, weakened. Armies would have to be recalled from overseas for service here. The US power to enforce capitalist hegemony world-wide and here at home would be shattered.

The idea of destabilizing life at home — of bringing the war home — is scary. It's a lot easier to go into an intense, violent, dangerous situation in someone else's land when you know that it's temporary, and that at the end of the summer, or sooner if you decide, you can go back to the US where life will be safe and peaceful. But the stability and comfort here at home are paid for with lives and safety around the world. Until people in the US take responsibility for stopping the regime here, which exports terror everywhere else, there won't be safety or freedom in the rest of the

world, nor real safety or freedom here.

It's a huge mistake to allow our agenda to be set in reaction to events elsewhere, losing sight of the big picture — the struggle for total liberation. Rather than reaction and defense, its time for offense. As the storm clouds of war against Iraq build, should we wait until the first tank crosses the boarder so that we can have a rowdy protest at the federal building the day afterwards? With reports daily confirming the precarious environmental situation resulting from unrestrained global corporate capitalism, should we wait for the announcement of each new timber harvest plan so that we may lay down before the bulldozers?

Its time to move beyond activism as a hobby, something separate from one's life that must be balanced against the rest of our lives — free time, relationships, enjoyment, creative work — something that is best applied to others rather than one's self, something that seeks out excitement and travel. What we seek is liberation, in which living rich, whole lives is the struggle for freedom for ourselves, the planet and all its inhabitants. Liberation eclipses and renders obsolete the single issues. Let the freedom summer in our own lives and everywhere begin soon, and never end.

For information on participating in Freedom Summer in Palestine, which we encourage notwithstanding the foregoing, please contact www.palsolidarity.org.

Trashed and Toxic

Continued from page 3

address the crisis. 7th St/McClymonds (a local community activist group) and Pacific Institute (a local research organization) joined forces to develop the Environmental Indicators Project (EIP). The project aims to

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Gay Shame

Continued from page 1

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Since then, Gay Shame festivals of resistance have occurred in numerous cities in that our political agenda would remain clear.

Gay Shame presented the Gay Shame Awards on May 25, in the center of the whitewashed gayborhood of the Castro. We rewarded the most hypocritical gays for their service to the "community," in order to expose

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address the crisis. 7th St/McClymonds (a local community activist group) and Pacific Institute (a local research organization) joined forces to develop the Environmental Indicators Project (EIP). The project aims to answer questions raised by disadvantaged communities by conducting research to promote revitalization.

Aman Bloom, a West Oakland resident and EIP Neighborhood Committee member note, "The impact on me came from the overall sum of the indicators. This project proves that there is a socially-responsible community of researchers whose interests coincide with the grassroots and who can take part in the process of improvement without taking control."

This community driven project functions democratically with the residents deciding what needs to be measured or reported to further their own community goals. In the beginning the most important part of this process was choosing the indicators. As it is used in this research project, an indicator (like rates of asthma) is a measurable result of pollution. The community then can organize to reduce the indicator by going after its causes.

West Oakland residents defined quality of life in their community as "the economic

vitality, the strength of the social institutions, the well being of its members and the state of its environment." Most similar projects focus on environmental threats on a larger scale, such as asthma rates for entire cities or states rather than asthma rates within a city's zip-code. This project is one of the few neighborhood projects that show such glaring environmental racism on a neighborhood scale. A scale that often goes unnoticed.

The work that has been done has made information available and understandable for the general public. The Environmental Indicators Project is the beginning of a strong local community movement against environmental racism. It has engaged and activated its residents and is providing them with the means to improve their community.

Out of the project, the Clean Air festival was born, with over 600 attending a demonstration in front of Red Star Yeast (a major West Oakland polluter) in 2001. Countless community groups are working on all of the indicator projects. They are providing an inspirational example as well as a working model of community activism that often goes unnoticed in a time when globalized struggles are at the forefront of our vision.

Gay Shame

Continued from page 1

queer visibility, personal queer histories, and needle exchange; vegan food; dancing and community-building.

Since then, Gay Shame festivals of resistance have occurred in numerous cities in the U.S., Canada, and Europe, including San Francisco, Toronto, Stockholm, and Barcelona. These events have taken various forms—in Barcelona, for example, organizers blocked the parade with shopping carts.

In San Francisco, the first Gay Shame event occurred last year, when we took over Tire Beach, a rotting industrial park on the San Francisco Bay. We turned Tire Beach into our queer autonomous space for the day, which included free food, t-shirts, and various other gifts, bands, spoken word, djs and dancing, a kidspace for children, and speakers on issues including gentrification, U.S. colonization of Vieques, and prison, youth, and trans activism. We encouraged people to participate in creating their own radical queer space, and people argued about political issues, created visual art, poured concrete and made a mosaic, dyed hair, mudwrestled naked, and had sex. We organized the event in less than a month, and over four hundred people trekked out to Tire Beach to join in the festivities.

As organizers of Gay Shame in San Francisco last year, however, one of our main critiques was that, in spite of our efforts to create a politicized space, many participants were rude to the speakers and seemed

uninteresting in anything beyond partying and socializing with their friends. This year we resolved to be more confrontational, to ensure that our political agenda would remain clear.

Gay Shame presented the Gay Shame Awards on May 25, in the center of the whitewashed gayborhood of the Castro. We rewarded the most hypocritical gays for their service to the "community," in order to expose these evil-doers who use the sham of "pride" as a cover-up for their greed and misdeeds. Hundreds of queers dressed to excess and jammed Harvey Milk Plaza and blocked Castro Street for several hours of dangerous glamour. Award categories included "Making More Queers Homeless," "Helping Right-Wingers Cope," "Best Target Marketing," "Best Gender Segregation," "Best Racist-Ass Whites-Only Space," "Exploiting Our Youth," "The IN Award" (For Celebrities Who Should Never Have Come Out in the First Place), and "Legends" (Straight Allies for Reactionary Gays). We presented a radical queer extravaganza, a fun and biting critique of the reactionary gay mainstream-- in the belly of the beast.

Gay Shame is committed to fighting the rabid assimilationist monster of corporate gay "pride" with a devastating mobilization of queer brilliance. If you'd like to get involved, call (415) 540-2947 or email gayshamest@yahoo.com.

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ACTION CALENDAR

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June 14-18

Protest the National Mayors Conference Madison, WI
www.resist-the-mayors.org

June 16 Sunday 1-4pm

No Homo Alono: Queer potluck brunch with ridiculous dance party. 3124 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley. Free.

June 19-28

No Borders Strasbourg, France www.noborder.org/camps

June 20 Saturday 8pm

Arise open-mic hip-hop event, benefit for Revolutionary Anti-Authoritarians of Color. 3124 Shattuck Ave. Berkeley. 510.839.3194 www.passionbomb.com/arise

June 20-24

Global Justice Action Summit Missoula, MT www.globaljas.org

June 21-22

EU Summit Sevilla, Spain www.nodo50.org

June 22-23

4th Annual Underground Publishing Conference Sharing Our Tools, Refusing the Master's. Bowling Green, OH. www.clamormagazine.org/upc. (See pg. 5, this issue)

June 24-26

World Bank ABCDE Oslo, Norway www.oslo2002.no/english.shtml

June 26-27

Take the Capital! Two Days of Resistance to Capitalism, and G8 Ottawa Canada www.takethecapital.net

June 27 Thursday 8pm

SF IMC Screening SF 8pm Mission District sf@indymedia.org 415.864.1000

June 28 Friday 8pm

Political Hard Core Show. 3124 Shattuck, Berkeley.

July 1-8

Earth First! Round River Rendezvous Gifford Pinchot National Forest WA. (See pg. 5, this issue)

July 1-7

Rainbow Gathering/Temporary Autonomous Zone Great Lakes Region www.welcomehome.org

July 6-7

Conference Link Arms, Raise Fists! US Out of the Philippines 522 Valencia St. SF www.kilusan.info/linkarms2002 415.820.1557

July 12 Friday 6 p.m.

East Bay Critical Mass bike ride. Berkeley BART

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2nd Annual Portland Zine Symposium Portland, OR info@pdxzines.com (See pg. 5, this issue)

July 14 Sunday

MAD PRIDE DAY! Celebrate psychiatric survivor human rights. Events planned internationally. www.MindFreedom.org. 1.877.MAD.PRIDE

July 20-22

Southern Girls Convention Auburn, AL ailecia.tripod.com/southerngirls/homes.html

July 21 Sunday 1-4pm

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July 26-28

Strategies for Peace, Equality and Justice in the Age of Globalization. SF State University. www.ccds.org

August 9 Friday 8 p.m.

Celebrate 9th birthday of Long Haul Infoshop. Free party after East Bay Critical Mass Bike ride. Music, food, etc.

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Media Democracy vs the NAB Seattle, WA lists.riseup.net/www/watch/watch.htm

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Salzburg, Germany Anti-World Economic Forum www.reimon.net

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Columbus, GA Close the SOA www.soa.org/nov2002.html

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Oakland federal building twin towers, a vigil protesting the continuing sanctions and bombings that have killed about a million Iraqis epicalc@earthlink.net

Every Thursday 12pm

SF Vigil From noon to 1pm at the SF Federal Building, Golden Gate Ave and Larkin St., a vigil protesting our bombing of Afghanistan and our nation's war against terrorism. 415.565.0201 sschwartz@afsc.org

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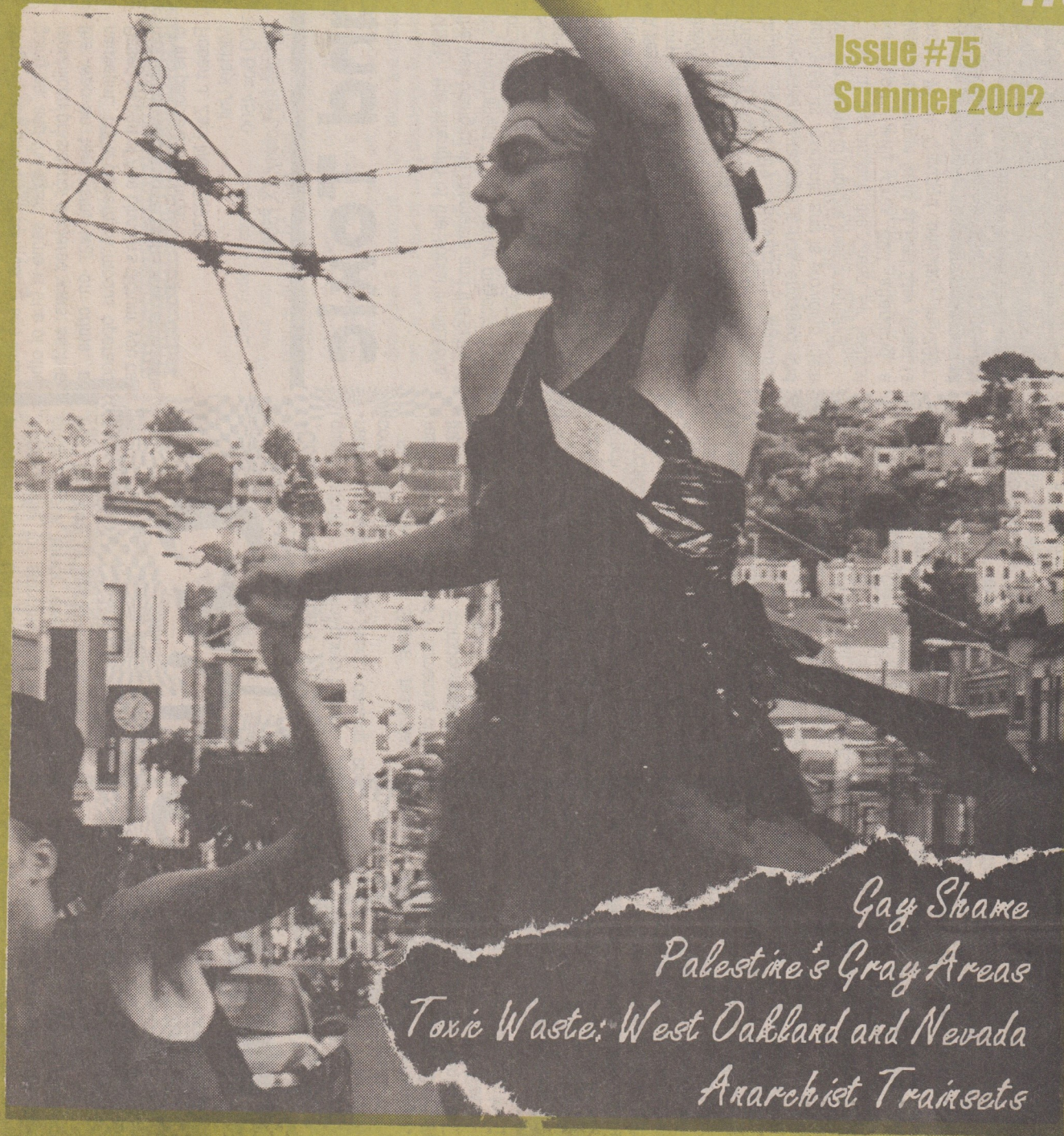


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Palestine's Gray Areas
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